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Paris Chemical Weapons Conference Assessed

Shevardnadze Interviewed

LD1301080589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0653 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who headed the Soviet delegation at the International Conference on Banning Chemical Weapons held in Paris, has answered questions from a TASS correspondent on the outcome of this forum:

Question: The International Conference on Banning Chemical Weapons has ended in Paris. You headed the Soviet delegation. How do you view the results of this forum?

Answer: The results are splendid. In terms of their political significance and weight, they have exceeded the wildest expectations. Convened with the aim of reaffirming the commitment of the states that are party to the Geneva protocol of 1925 to the principles set out in that document, in actual fact it developed into a world assembly on outlawing chemical weapons.

The conference confirmed that the ideas set out in the 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and of other means of mass destruction, are assuming in the world the force and nature of the leading modern day trend.

Evidence of this is both the number of states participating in the conference—149—and the time it took to organize—a record for world practice of a little more than 4 months, as well as the readiness of the world community to reach the agreement on complicated military and political matters enshrined in the final declaration.

I would single out the following provisions in this document:

First, the decisive reaffirmation of the ban on the use of chemical weapons established by the Geneva protocol of 1925;

Second, the concern of the world community over the problem of chemical weapons proliferation;

Third, and the main point, the call to conclude a comprehensive convention on the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons as soon as possible.

As you are aware, work on the text of such a convention has been going at the Geneva conference on disarmament for several years now. One might say that the end had been reached; there were not that many matters remaining to be resolved, but a situation developed in which a powerful stimulus from without was needed for the work on a convention to be concluded.

The Paris conference has proved to be that stimulus.

In Paris the states participating in the conference did not simply voice their will, but in a sense assumed an obligation to work toward a ban and elimination of chemical weapons.

The conference final declaration supports the idea of having the UN secretary general investigate cases of chemical weapons use. This is a very important point. In this way verification [kontrol] of the observance of the 1925 Geneva protocol is strengthened.

Question: How was the Soviet position received at the conference?

Answer: I will remind you that the Soviet Union produced a fresh initiative at the Paris conference: We shall start destroying our stocks of chemical weapons this year, even before a convention is concluded. This was viewed unanimously as a continuation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy line as set out by M.S. Gorbachev in his UN speech of 7 December 1988.

The conference participants concurred in their opinion that this decision is on a par with our other major initiatives: eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and unilaterally cutting our Armed Forces and weapons.

An extensive, positive response and approval has been forthcoming from the conference participants and the world public for another position of the Soviet Union: to establish the strictest international verification [kontrol] of the observance of a ban on chemical weapons and their elemination up to and including mandatory on-site inspections without the right of refusal.

In conclusion, I would like to express my thanks to the French Government for its initiative in convening this conference in Paris, and for its splendid organization.

Dumas, Soviet Official Comment

PM1301093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events" and general headline: "The Hope and Will of All Mankind"]

[Text]

Our Correspondent Reports From Paris

The International Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons has ended. Work of historic importance was done. The set aims have been attained. The

Paris conference on banning the use of chemical weapons marks an important stage on the path toward the elimination of these weapons. The entire international community has come out against these mass destruction weapons. There was no confrontation between East and West nor any antagonism between North and South. An important impetus has been given to the Geneva negotiations on the conclusion of a convention. At the same time it is necessary to continue efforts to achieve the aims of general disarmament. We have to win the main battle—the battle for peace.

With these few sentences Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, summed up the results of the conference which he had chaired and which ended its work at the UNESCO headquarters. He read out the text of the final declaration which had been adopted unanimously by all the states that had taken part in the conference.

"I believe that the success of the Paris conference was promoted by the decision of the Soviet Union to begin the elimination of its chemical weapon stocks," R. Dumas said in an interview to your correspondent, "and I am glad that the USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze announced this decision here in Paris. This highly interesting initiative met with broad support here. I personally highly appreciate the Soviet decision which marks a significant step forward."

How does the Soviet delegation assess the results of the Paris forum? I asked Ambassador Yu.K. Nazarkin, USSR representative at the Geneva disarmament conference, to share his impressions with us.

"At this meeting," Yu. K. Nazarkin said, "the problem of banning chemical weapons was examined at a high political level. It is at the focus of attention of virtually all the states of the world. Despite certain differences in their positions, all the delegations agreed that chemical weapons must be completely banned and destroyed and that the negotiations on a total ban of chemical weapons must be maximally accelerated. I must add that 12 more states announced in Paris their accession to the 1925 Geneva protocol which prohibits the use of chemical weapons. As for the reaction to our minister's speech, it was enthusiastic. Delegates assessed it as a demonstration of new thinking in the disarmament sphere. It is true that the Americans, with the help of the mass media, tried to somewhat play down the significance of our initiative concerning the destruction of chemical weapon stocks. With reference to the elimination by the United States of part of its old stocks, they claimed that the Soviet Union is probably going to eliminate similar stocks. The Americans are indeed doing this because they are switching to a new generation of weapons—binary weapons—and are getting rid of what is no longer useful. However, our approach is completely different. We ended the production of chemical weapons in February 1987 and are now building an installation for the destruction of munitions which are still serviceable.

"In a few days negotiations on the conclusion of a convention on a total ban of chemical weapons will resume in Geneva. I believe that we will find our work easier now. I proceed from the fact that the impetus provided by the Paris conference will help all delegates to work more productively."

[Kovalenko] "Will the convention be signed this year?"

[Nazarkin] "I believe there is hope that this will be the case. It emerged at the Paris forum that many countries take this view. We are setting no hard and fast conditions, but we do believe that 1989 must be decisive in the cause of concluding a convention."

Geneva Envoy Nazarkin Interviewed

PM1301112289 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Yu.K. Nazarkin, member of the Soviet delegation to the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons and USSR representative at the disarmament conference in Geneva, by own correspondent V. Prokofyev in Paris: "The Paris Appeal: Important Step Toward a World Without Chemical Weapons Taken in the French Capital"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Paris, 12 Jan—The International Conference on Banning Chemical Weapons has ended in Paris. Our correspondent in France met with Ambassador Yu.K. Nazarkin, a member of the Soviet delegation and USSR representative to the disarmament conference in Geneva.

[Prokofyev] Yuriy Konstantinovich, how do you assess the results of the Paris forum?

[Nazarkin] The very fact that nearly 150 delegations from all over the world came to Paris, 80 of them headed by foreign ministers, is remarkable in itself. It is an extraordinary event. It indicates that questions of banning chemical weapons have reached a high political level. Of course, even before this a number of countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, had put forward this problem area as a priority, but there has not previously been such a mass expression of the will to put an end to these barbarous weapons. The conference participants assessed highly the speech by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. They noted the broad approach, from the standpoints of common human values, to disarmament problems and the readiness to begin the elimination of chemical weapon stockpiles even before the conclusion of a convention. It is symbolic that the Paris meeting was the first international forum of 1989. A good beginning.

[Prokofyev] Did the Paris meeting succeed in strengthening the regime of the 1925 Geneva protocol on banning the use of chemical weapons, as well as giving

impetus to the speediest signing of the convention on their total banning that is being drafted in Geneva? What do you see as the practical benefit of this conference?

[Nazarkin] In Paris a number of additional countries declared their adherence to the Geneva protocol, which means that its regime was strengthened. I can say confidently that an important concluding document—the joint declaration—was adopted at the Paris meeting. It contains, in particular, an appeal to the participants in the disarmament conference in Geneva urgently to redouble their efforts to resolve the remaining issues and conclude a convention banning the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons, as well as destroying them. What else remains to be done? We have to define a procedure for the destruction of chemical weapon stockpiles and enterprises that produce them, reach agreement on creating conditions that will preclude the production of chemical weapons at commercial enterprises in the guise of permitted activity, and complete the formulation of provisions relating to on-site inspections by invitation.

Much progress has already been achieved in Geneva. Our new approach to the talks, the product of the new thinking in international affairs, is now making it possible to tackle the resolution of complex problems. But the results do not only depend on us. What are we up against? Our partners do not always have the necessary powers, and the process of obtaining them is very difficult in some capitals. So when it comes to the practical results of the Paris forum, I hope they will be revealed in the more flexible resolution of the problems arising in Geneva by the governments concerned.

The question of the universal condemnation of chemical weapons was raised urgently and with full force in Paris. As a result the moral and political climate of intolerance of these weapons has been strengthened in the world, which cannot but promote a final solution to the problem.

[Prokofyev] In connection with the decision announced by the Soviet minister to begin elimination of chemical weapons immediately after the construction of a special facility for their destruction, the question arises: Are we moving too fast?

[Nazarkin] Of course not. The USSR does not intend to destroy its entire stockpile before the conclusion of a convention. Why have we taken this step? The successful progress of the Geneva talks is influenced greatly both by the atmosphere at the Geneva meeting itself and by the attitude toward it throughout the world. It is primarily a question of trust. Our initiative testifies to the seriousness of Soviet intentions, and therefore helps to increase trust in us.

True, it must be noted that after Comrade Shevardnadze's speech statements began to appear in the pro-American mass media to the effect that the Russians are only going to destroy obsolete types of chemical munitions. The United States has been doing that for a long time, they say. This point must be clarified. The Americans are now going over to a new generation of chemical weapons—binary weapons. They no longer need the old ones. It is difficult to store them, and so forth. That is why they are getting rid of them. We also have mobile installations attached to the Soviet chemical troops for the speedy destruction of munitions that are put out of action for one reason or another. We demonstrated them to foreign representatives in Shikhany. As for the stationary facility that is under construction in Chapayevsk, it is designed for the destruction of chemical weapons on a scale appropriate to the fulfillment of our future commitments under the convention.

[Prokofyev] How do you assess the change in France' position on chemical weapons?

[Nazarkin] Very positively. A major evolution is in evidence. Its former position amounted to this: We sign the convention but we retain the right to have a so-called "security stockpile." What does that mean? First, that a certain proportion of chemical weapons remain and are maintained in combat readiness. Second, the production facilities for these weapons are retained, for modernizing and supplementing the stockpile. At the UN General Assembly in New York French President F. Mitterrand, showing statesmanlike wisdom, stated that immediately after the convention's entry into force all chemical weapons production should be stopped and the destruction should begin under international verification. That is a very positive factor which will certainly help the Geneva talks. I wish to pay tribute to France and its leaders, who showed valuable initiative on the holding of the international conference in Paris and did everything to promote its successful completion.

Bogachev Views Outcome

LD1201214289 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The International Conference on Chemical Weapons that ended in Paris adopted a number of important decisions to consolidate the regime of the Geneva protocol of 1925 which will, undoubtedly, give fresh strong impetus to the negotiations on complete chemical disarmament that are to be resumed shortly in Switzerland.

In the final declaration, the participants in the Paris conference confirmd unambiguously that the continuing validity of the Geneva protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous and other gases can best be ensured by complete elimination of these weapons. The Paris conference called upon all states that have not yet done so to accede to the Geneva protocol.

During the conference the Soviet delegation proclaimed its support for advance to disarmament on all directions. It noted though that a rigid linking of the destruction of chemical weapons to the elimination of nuclear arms on which some delegations insisted would lead to the dragging out of the solution of the problem of toxic agents.

The participating states stressed the necessity of concluding, at an early date, a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons, and on their destruction. The final declaration emphasises the need to pursue with determination the efforts to secure general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The speech of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was the apotheosis of the Paris conference. He announced the Soviet Union's decision to begin shortly the destruction of its stockpiles of chemical weapons without waiting for the conclusion of an appropriate international convention. Delegates of various countries note that this decision by the USSR is a patent example of new political thinking in action.

Deplorably, not all barriers on the road to the elimination of chemical weapons under strict control have yet been removed. Concern is caused by the fact that immediately after the Soviet Union's decision on the elimination of its toxic agents, the White House submitted to the U.S. Congress a draft new military budget, which, as the British GUARDIAN writes, envisages a sharp increase of the appropriations for the creation of binary chemical ammunition.

At the Paris conference the USSR urged all states producing chemical weapons, states that resumed their production or that intend to manufacture chemical weapons to show responsibility to the world community, stop in their tracks and thus help remove these barbarous means of mass destruction from the arsenals of all countries.

Shabanov Holds News Conference on INF Treaty

LD1301092289 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—"We can say outright that the era of nuclear disarmament has been ushered in", it was stated by Army General Vitaliy Shabanov, deputy minister of defence of the USSR. He addressed a news conference, held in connection with the third anniversary of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15th, 1986, in which he advanced the program of ridding the world of nuclear and all other mass annihilation weapons by the year 2000.

The general said that in compliance with the Soviet-American INF Treaty, "222 Soviet medium-range missiles have been destroyed to date of the 889 slated for liquidation, i.e. almost 25 per cent. 118 out of the 587 launching installations for them have also been destroyed."

312 out of the 957 shorter-range missiles have been destroyed along with 94 launchers for them out of the 238.

The American side is also observing its committments. It has by now destroyed approximately 25 per cent of this class of missiles at its disposal.

On the whole, Vitaliy Shabanov noted, the treaty is being implemented according to plan, in an atmosphere of trust and efficiency. "We hope that the time limit set for the liquidation of medium-range missiles, i.e. by June 1991, and for the liquidation of shorter-range missiles—by January 1990, will be observed," the deputy defence minister of the USSR declared.

Hints of Western Military Cuts Welcomed

PM1201121989 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jan 89 p 1

[R. Puchkov "Pertinent Remarks": "Has the Ice Cracked?"]

[Text] Belgian Minister of National Defense Guy Coeme has embarked on the study of a report on the state of the Belgian Army and prospects for financing it over the next decade. The report's aim, according to the local press, is to seek out military budget items which can be cut back.

My initial reaction when I read this report was one of doubt. What else: After all, so far NATO countries have done nothing but increase their expenditure on arms and armed forces each year.

But then I recalled that, following the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Belgium was the first West European country to get rid of all the Pentagon's "gifts." I also recalled that, in the past, Belgium and the Netherlands were the last countries to give permission for the siting of these U.S. missiles on their national territory. Generally speaking, antimilitarist feelings run strong in Belgium, since the country has already been subjected to destructive foreign invasion twice this century....

As a matter of fact, Spain's Foreign Minister Francisco Fernadez-Ordonez declared in an interview that his country plans to reduce the number of tanks and armored vehicles in the near future. Could it be that the ice has cracked? Let's wait and see, as people say. But let's wait in the hope that this is so.

Academician on Nuclear Disarmament Proposals

LD1201222988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Academician Boris Viktorovich Raushenbakh by correspondent V. Solovyev in the studio]

[Text] The all-embracing disarmament program presented in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986 became a major step towards a nuclear-free world.

[Solovyev] Boris Viktorovich Raushenbakh is an academician who for many years has been dealing with rocket and space technology, and worked with Sergey Pavlovich Korolev before the war. Boris Viktorovich, 3 years ago the Soviet Union put forward proposals for a program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Can there be any other alternatives to the Soviet variant for delivering mankind from the nuclear threat?

[Raushenbakh] Well, I am aware of only one such variant. That's President Reagan's proposal to create the Strategic Defense Initiative—weapons in space. But our research carried out in the country by our independent scientists who have united in the Soviet Committee for the Defense of the World Against the Nuclear Threat, as well as that by our independent American colleagues, have shown that that is not a serious proposal, that it cannot serve such a purpose. Apart from that, our committee has also carried out research on whether such complete disarmament is possible technically and strategically, because there were people who accused Mikhail Sergeyevich in particular of creating pure propaganda. Our research, with which our American colleagues have familiarized themselves, has shown that it is technically and strategically possible. The question is political—whether or not (?this) should be (?pursued).

[Solovyev] Do you think it is possible to put an end to nuclear weapons at a time when conventional war is considered possible?

[Raushenbakh] Well, this, of course, is a complicated question. But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that at present conventional weapons, their destructive capacity, approaches the level of nuclear weapons. Now chemical weapons, let's say, can quite sufficiently replace nuclear weapons. And not only chemical. That is why it seems to me that nuclear weapons, the elimination of these weapons, is the first step. This should necessarily be followed by general disarmament. Otherwise there would hardly be much sense.

I should say that mankind is not threatened by military dangers alone. For example, we now have very serious ecological problems. That's why we should be taking a very broad view of universal human values and of mankind's existence as a whole.

[Solovyev] The Soviet program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons became the first concrete proposal for mankind to proceed from the consideration of common interests and not from the balance of power.

[Raushenbakh] Yes, of course. The point is that now, in the second half of our century, mankind's power is so great that it could destroy life on earth—something we didn't have even during the last world war. But man's brain, his way of thinking, so to speak, has remained unchanged. And that is a terrible contradiction. We are now threatened by dangers literally from every side, not just the military side; those from the military side are pretty obvious, but ecological disasters which could destroy life on earth in the next century are also looming over us. We have to think from the point of view of mankind as a whole; in particular we have to think of the planet earth, to preserve the planet so that we can live on it. That leads us to the conclusion that now all countries and all people have to act from this point of view and taking into consideration these common human values. In this sense, Mikhail Sergeyevich's address at the latest session of the United Nations Organization should be viewed not just as an address by a representative of the Soviet Union, but as a speech on behalf of all mankind. If you look at it, it was precisely that.

Talyzin Interviewed on CEMA 40th Anniversary

PM1201103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR permanent CEMA representative, by unidentified correspondent: "CEMA: Results, Problems, Prospects"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] CEMA—the socialist states' international organization for multilateral economic, scientific, and technical cooperation—was set up at the Economic Conference of representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia held in Moscow 5-8 January 1949.

CEMA currently has as members Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

In connection with CEMA's 40th anniversary the PRAVDA editorial office asked N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR permament CEMA representative, to describe the main results, problems, and prospects of multilateral cooperation within the framework of the organization and of our country's participation in it.

[Correspondent] What main stages in CEMA's development over the past 40 years would you name and what would you say are the most significant elements in its work expoerience?

[Talyzin] Over the past decades the CEMA countries have achieved major successes in socioeconomic development and in forming and strengthening a socialist type of international economic relations. Mutual cooperation occupies the main place in the system of the fraternal countries' foreign economic links.

The content of the main stages was determined by the specific historical situation and the tasks set by the CEMA countries in the economic sphere at different periods of development. The forms and methods of CEMA's work were refined accordingly.

What has remained a constant feature at all stages is the quintessential nature of our collaboration—fraternal solidarity, great commitment to one another's success, complete equality, and comradely mutual assistance, that is, everything that we call socialist internationalism. This is the foundation of the socialist countries' mutual relations, elaborated through the collective efforts of their communist and workers parties, which are the leading and organizing force of our entire community. Joint work by the fraternal parties on the wide range of cooperation issues makes it possible, as M.S. Gorbachev noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, to "learn to prevent conflicts of interests between different socialist states, harmonize them, and find mutually acceptable solutions to even the most complex problems."

In the years after the war the CEMA countries were able, on the basis of mutual assistance, to totally restore the economy and they retooled national economies. The Soviet Union's selfless assistance was an important factor in building up the economic potential of the countries embarked on the path of socialist transformations. The experience of carrying out socialist industrialization with the help of the fraternal states is of unfading historical significance.

The industrialization of the CEMA countries raised in the sixties the question of pooling their efforts in establishing a secure fuel, raw material, and power industry base. The world's biggest integration projects began to appear, the first of which was the "Druzhba" oil pipeline. In the years that followed the "Soyuz" and Yamburg-Western border of the USSR gas pipelines, the Kiyembayevskiy asbestos combine, the Ust-Ilimsk pulp plant, and "Mir" energy system high-voltage lines were constructed. Considerable numbers of integration projects were created in the other CEMA countries as well.

The implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, adopted in 1971, led to major advances in the intensification of the CEMA countries' cooperation. It laid the foundation for the elaboration and implementation of major projects for creating specialized and shared production of computer technology and equipment for nuclear power stations and for deepening integration links in leading sectors.

Finally, the entire CEMA system of interstate relations, which ensures the practical linkage of the socialist community countries' common and national interests, is a collective asset. It finds concrete expression primarily in the coordination of economic policy and national economic plans and the elaboration of joint decisions on the development of international specialization and production sharing.

The use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor and the deepening of the integration process in the community are a vitally important source of economic growth in each of the CEMA countries, of the formation of a progressive structure of production and exports, and of the solution of many socioeconomic problems.

All this has contributed a great deal to the creation in the European CEMA countries of developed national economic complexes with modern machine building, radioelectronics, and chemical sectors and a highly mechanized agro-industrial complex. The foundation for industrial development is being established in the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia.

But negative phenomena began to build up in the CEMA community in the mid-seventies. Economic development slowed down in the USSR and a number of other CEMA countries. In recent years their mutual trade turnover has become markedly less dynamic, the potential for production specialization and sharing has by no means been fully exploited in the community, and social labor productivity in the USSR and the European CEMA countries has fallen well short of the West European level.

The working meeting of leaders of communist and workers parties (November, 1986) was a milestone in the development of mutual cooperation. Its participants noted the need to make effective use of all reserves for CEMA countries' economic cooperation and to fundamentally restructure the integration mechanism. The two subsequent CEMA sessions were specially geared to fulfilling the working meeting's recommendations and seeking new ways of deepening the integration process in the context of the socialist community. A number of important joint documents was adopted, including the collective Concept of the International Socialist Division of Labor Through the Year 2005, the first steps were taken to reorganize CEMA, and work was started on creating preconditions for the formation of a unified socialist market.

In implementing its extensive program of restructuring and renewal, the Soviet Union continues to regard the development of economic links with the fraternal countries as a priority area of its policy. Cooperation within the CEMA framework is intended to accelerate scientific-technical progress, aid the modernization of production capacities in individual sectors of our industry, and enrich the range of consumer goods on the domestic market.

In short, CEMA is a collective economic organization in which the member countries jointly determine areas of cooperation in order to solve very important economic problems in the interests of each country and the community as a whole and seek the most effective forms and methods of collaboration. We proceed on the basis that cooperation in CEMA will be a very important priority for us in the future too.

Questions of stepping up the USSR's economic relations with the CEMA countries are constantly considered by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and are discussed at its sessions. There are regular conferences of fraternal Communist Party Central Committee secretaries to elaborate coordinated measures to give party support to decisions adopted by the CEMA countries.

[Correspondent] Thus CEMA has a rich past. Naturally, there have been difficulties as well as successes along the way. Recently a number of countries have expressed some dissatisfaction with the results of cooperation. When you look at the decisions of recent CEMA sessions, you can see that cooperation among the fraternal states is at a turning point. How would you describe the present state of CEMA and its prospects?

[Talyzin] Indeed, recent years in the life of CEMA have been characterized by major changes in the entire system of mutual cooperation. The task was set of qualitatively changing the actual model of the socialist community countries' economic mutual relations, that is, switching from predominantly trade ties to comprehensive cooperation in science, technology, and production, implementing profound structural changes in the established pattern of trade turnover, and creating a new mechanism of collaboration based on economic methods and direct links between enterprises.

This is not just our common wish, but a vital necessity in terms of future economic development. It is dictated, first, by the demands of intensification and the radical renewal of production in our countries on the basis of advanced scientific and technical achievements. In recent years we have been particularly aware of this. The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum determined the course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The fundamental acceleration of scientific-technical progress and modernization and reconstruction of the entire production potential came to the fore as the main strategic lever in the intensification of the national economy. This marked the start of revolutionary restructuring in our country.

The extensive utilization of scientific and technical achievements is the foundation of economic policy in all the other CEMA countries and is enshrined in the 1985 Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress. Its implementation is the core of our joint activity in CEMA. We see the implementation of the program's projects as crucial to our country's scientific and technical advancement, to the improvement of labor productivity and the technical standard of products, and to making them more competitive on world markets.

Second, future economic development will increasingly take place in conditions of resource-saving. So resource-saving is a very important part of the new cooperation model. This is a particularly topical problem for our countries. Consumption of energy and raw material resources per unit of output is markedly higher in the CEMA countries than in the EEC. It is impossible to further increase production and consumption of fuel and raw materials at the same rate as the overall economic growth rate and expand economic cooperation by increasing the exchange of fuel and raw materials for finished articles. In these conditions special importance attaches to our joint decision to continue to develop mutual cooperation by deepening intrasectoral production specialization and sharing.

Finally, the new model of our countries' economic mutual relations envisages the radical restructuring of the collaboration mechanism. Until recently the cooperation mechanism was geared mainly to the interstate level. In the USSR and in many other CEMA countries, in conditions of rigid centralized planning, the chief component of cooperation was, essentially, exchange of goods. All reciprocal supplies of goods were coordinated in detail by the countries' planning organs, while money, prices, and other economic instruments were only really used for calculating the flow of goods. Economic associations and enterprises, not possessing economic independence, were unable to participate fully in cooperation.

With the start of the radical economic and political reform in our country and the implementation of transformations in the economic mechanisms of a number of countries real preconditions were created for qualitative changes in the established system of relationships. Wider economic independence for enterprises and the strengthening of labor collectives' initiative and enterprise made it possible to form and develop a new and really promising and essentially unlimited sphere of cooperation for us—direct collaboration in the most diverse forms between economic organizations on the basis of direct links and the creation of international associations and joint enterprises. Commodity-money relations are being more widely used and questions of prices and mutual settlements are more easily solved.

[Correspondent] As is known, today the CEMA countries have started coordinating national economic plans for the next 5-year plan. What is the enterprises' role in this work?

[Talyzin] The 43d CEMA session, in 1987, laid down a new procedure for coordinating plans at three interrelated levels.

Its characteristic trait is that now sectoral bodies and, what is particularly important, enterprises now join the countries' state planning committees in coordination work. On the basis of the new cooperation model and the fundamentally new role of associations and enterprises we believe that they must be given the broadest opportunities to independently solve questions of the development of their long-term foreign links. This means in practice that, for example, Soviet associations and enterprises, when devising their production plans, can reach agreements direct with partners from fraternal countries on the development of coproduction, mutual deliveries of the necessary output, and exchange of scientific-technical developments. They act primarily on the basis of their own economically accountable interests. It is expected that agreements reached between enterprises will account for a considerable proportion of mutual supplies of products of the machine building, radioelectronic, and chemical sectors, that is, the sectors on which the future growth of our cooperation depends.

The countries' state planning committees and CEMA organs are being enabled to focus their efforts on resolving strategic problems of cooperation for the next 5-year plan and in the more remote future. Last year's Council session approved a collective Concept for the International Socialist Division of Labor Through the Year 2005. It reflects the jointly defined reference points for restructuring the structure of the economy and mutual trade turnover, lending greater dynamism to mutual ties, and enhancing the competitiveness of the fraternal countries' output in the world market. We began to implement the provisions of the collective concept when we embarked on coordinating plans for 1991-1995.

These will serve as the basis for elaborating large-scale science-and-production and technological projects that are of national economic significance and require interstate decisions.

[Correspondent] How do you assess prospects for the development of production sharing?

[Talyzin] In order to answer that question, I need to make the following explanation. Under the existing system of accounting, not all deliveries of subassemblies in the USSR and CEMA are categorized as production sharing, as is done in Western statistics.

But one way or another, the division of labor within CEMA has indeed traveled the road of specializing in finished articles more than that of production sharing with regard to assemblies and components. This is no accident.

The point is primarily that production sharing links can develop efficiently and specifically at the enterprise level. This is confirmed by world practice, especially in production sharing within firms. There is a similar picture with regard to production sharing within sectors in our country.

As for international production sharing ties within the CEMA framework, by virtue of the peculiarities of the mechanism which formerly existed, they developed at the level of intergovernmental and sectoral relations. Today enterprises and associations must themselves decide these questions. The conditions are now emerging for international production sharing to gain totally new dimensions within the community.

For example, take the long-term program of multilateral production specialization and cooperation for the period through the year 2000 in the machine-building sphere approved by the 44th CEMA session. It is a vast and specific document whose every page is devoted to organizing production sharing ties in manufacturing particular new goods: excavators, buses, small-capacity cars, passenger aircraft, domestic refrigerators, and so forth. Work must be conducted today around these specific initial data. Production sharing will be based on the most

progressive solutions in the sphere of equipment and technology envisaged by the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

As yet it is hard to say what organizational forms production sharing for specific types of articles will ultimately take: joint enterprises, concerns, production associations, corporations, and so forth; or will there be multilateral direct ties among partners in cooperation. Let the enterprises and associations concerned decide themselves, let them agree directly on the economic terms for such cooperation.

[Correspondent] It is 3 years since the adoption of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress. Of late there have been critical assessments of it. In your opinion, what should be done to turn this program into a more effective lever of economic development?

[Talyzin] It must be emphasized that the CEMA countries are united in assessing the importance of the role of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress for the entire community. Life shows that the program's choice of five priority directions was correctly made. It is in line with trends in the world development of science and technology.

Cooperation under the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress has begun to yield practical results, but the criticism is valid! We are not satisfied with the practical return on the program. It is necessary to resolutely expedite development work and, most importantly, to introduce new technology.

Forecasts show that there will be many radical shifts in the world economy before the end of the 20th century. The technological novelty of goods will be the decisive factor in competitiveness. So greater momentum is needed in implementing the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

A number of targeted science-and-production and technological projects are now being prepared and it is planned to begin implementing them in the upcoming 5-year plan. But the pace and scale of this work are inadequate. The forms and methods of fulfilling the program also need to be improved. Organization and the financial aspect of the matter play a considerable role here.

[Correspondent] The working meeting of the fraternal parties' leaders in November 1986 outlined a course of radically renewing the economic mechanism of cooperation among the CEMA countries, and this course was enshrined and developed in the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) council session. At the 44th CEMA session in July 1988 this course was supplemented by an accord among nine community countries on studying and creating the conditions for the gradual formation of a unified socialist market. How is work in this direction going?

[Talyzin] It must be admitted that as yet there is little headway here, for it is a matter of a very difficult complex of questions where it is not always easy to reach a general consensus.

In order to create an international market, still more a unified CEMA market, you need to have adequately developed national markets.

This situation has by no means been achieved in a number of countries today.

But even where a certain domestic balance does exist, it is no easy task to maintain it. It is no accident today that now some CEMA countries, now others are having to introduce restrictions on the export of particular consumer goods.

We are taking resolute measures to increase consumer goods production and strengthen our internal market. At the same time we think it necessary right now to conduct work on organizing collaboration between national markets. The 44th CEMA session agreed on measures to give organizations in the fraternal countries mutual access to one another's markets, including their participation in national wholesale fairs and exhibitions-cum-sales, the expansion of barter transactions between domestic trade and cooperative organizations, and the development of border trade. Soviet organizations are now engaging in the practical resolution of these questions with partners from Poland, the CSSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the GDR.

Another constituent problem is prices. Each country has its own structure and levels of retail and wholesale prices. Today it is hard to reduce them to a common denominator. In our view, the way out lies in employing contract prices agreed by the partners themselves on the basis of considerations of mutual advantage.

Finally, the third component is the currency for settlements. We believe that the transfer ruble, which was originally created to service trade turnover coordinated at the interstate level, can be used quite well in settlements between economic organizations. Alongside this settlements in national currencies will also be developed. The most important thing here is the availability of goods.

Experience shows that, left to themselves, economic organizations reach agreement more rapidly. Many trade enterprises are already directly conducting trade totaling hundreds of millions of rubles.

The switch to wholesale trade in means of production opens up great prospects. We envisage constantly inviting organizations from the fraternal countries to participate in our wholesale trade. The first international wholesale fair for trade in production and technical

products in transfer rubles, held in Moscow in November 1988, was very interesting. Contracts totaling hundreds of millions of rubles were concluded for the sale and purchase of machines and equipment. For the first time at the fair the transfer ruble was used as the currency for real settlements not at the interstate level but at the level of economic organizations. This is a promising development. The volume of wholesale trade in the USSR will increase rapidly. All production and technical products, except for certain types that will be supplied on the basis of state orders, are to be switched to wholesale trade as of 1991.

[Correspondent] You sometimes get the impression that all the measures to improve cooperation chiefly affect the USSR and the European CEMA countries. What do Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia, which still have to resolve many tasks typical of developing countries, gain from this?

[Talyzin] These countries are able to join actively in implementing many Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress projects and in specialization and production sharing. The decisions adopted in CEMA have helped to ensure that these countries were able to join actively in implementing many Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress projects and in specialization and production sharing in the most modern sectors of production. For its part the Soviet Union seeks actively to promote this.

In 1988 the council session approved comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia. Collective work on giving concrete expression to these programs is currently under way. Discussions and analysis of feasibility studies have already begun on 12 multilateral projects. Incidentally, the CEMA Planning Committee will devote its January session in Havana to this.

[Correspondent] The CEMA countries are part of the world economy, in which there are now many highly diverse communities and groupings. Relations were recently established between CEMA and the EEC. In your view, what are the prospects for cooperation between these two organizations?

[Talyzin] You're right. The community of CEMA countries is not an autarkical system. CEMA has long developed cooperation with the SFRY and Finland and with developing countries like Angola, Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, Laos, Mozambique, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia. There is considerable potential for expanding the CEMA countries' foreign economic ties with the PRC and the DPRK.

The 27th CPSU Congress substantiated the fundamental ideas of the interdependence of the modern world. The constructive concept that M.S. Gorbachev set out in his speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session has now been created on the basis of them.

The establishment of official relations between two such major economic organizations as CEMA and the EEC is an important step in normalizing economic cooperation between East and West and a major political event according with the spirit of our time and the concept of building an all-European home.

After signing the joint declaration CEMA and the EEC got right down to specifying the spheres, forms, and methods of cooperation. CEMA has prepared proposals on developing mutually advantageous ties for subsequent discussion with EEC representatives. We are prepared to hold seminars, symposiums, and consultations, to exchange specialists, and to conduct joint research and studies.

CEMA advocates broad cooperation with the EEC in standardization, statistics, the environment, and long-term forecasting. We also have interest in cooperation in transportation and the power industry, particularly the nuclear power industry, and in scientific and technical cooperation. Other spheres of collaboration are also possible.

[Correspondent] Finally, Nikolay Vladimirovich, how do you view the question of expanding glasnost in CEMA's work?

[Talyzin] The question is pressing. The more the fraternal countries' public knows about our work, the broader support in implementing the collectively outlined integration programs will be. Glasnost is necessary to ensure that people know specifically how the decisions reached in CEMA at intergovernmental level are being implemented actually in labor collectives and what difficulties are arising in their fulfillment. This will make it possible to make wider use of the good advice of scientists and production workers.

The Soviet side has submitted specific proposals on questions of expanding glasnost in CEMA's work for consideration by its Executive Committee. They envisage the more open discussion of questions by the council and systematic collaboration between its organs and the mass news media. In my opinion, our conversation today has also taken place in such an atmosphere.

Bloc Human Rights Aides Meet in Moscow

PM1301113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] A routine session of the multilateral scientific problem-solving [problemnyy] council of the socialist countries' fraternal parties on questions of human rights was held in Moscow 11-12 January. Representatives of the BCP, MSZMP, CPV, SED, Workers Party of Korea, Communist Party of Cuba, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, MPRP, PZPR, CPSU, and CPCZ discussed questions connected with developing modern

approaches to safeguarding human rights in socialist cooperation, and cooperation in this field in the international arena in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking. There was a discussion of the prospects of scientific cooperation between the socialist countries' fraternal parties on questions of the further development of socialist democracy and the all-around safeguarding of human rights.

Taking part in the session were N.I. Yefimov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, and R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Bloc Academics Attend Symposium on Dialectics

PM1201141989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "International Symposium"]

[Text] An international symposium on "The Dialectics of General Human and Class Interests" took place at the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute 10-11 January within the framework of the "Socialism: The Interaction of Internal and External Conditions in Its Development" program. Scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, and the CSSR took part in its work.

During the debate discussion turned to such questions as the nature of the modern era, the growth of the role of general human factors in contemporary development, the growth of integralness and interconnectedness of the world, the significance of socialist values and ideals, the role of restructuring processes in Soviet society, the correlation between national and general human interests, and problems arising from the politicization of public life and the development of socialist pluralism.

CEMA Ship Ends Mineral Prospecting Voyage

LD0601182189 Moscow TASS in English 1758 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Nakhodka (Soviet Far East) January 6 TASS—The Soviet research ship Professor Fedynskiy has ended its first voyage under the flag of the joint CMEA organization Interokeanmetal.

After six months of geological prospecting in a Pacific Ocean region, the vessel arrived in Nakhodka, its port of hail, where the ship was met by the Soviet scientists and marine geologists from the CSSR, Poland and Bulgaria. Information on the research results will be passed over to Hungary, the GDR, Cuba and Vietnam, which are among the founders of the joint CMEA organization. The headquarters of the organization is situated in Szczecin, Poland, and its research fleet is based in Nakhodka, Leningrad and Gelendzhik, the Caucasians.

The main task of Interokeanmetal is the prospecting of minerals and extraction from underwater. Professor Fedynskiy made pictures of various parts of the Pacific Ocean floor using deep-water TV and photo cameras. As soon as the scientists decipher the information obtained in the most productive regions, claimed for in the U.N., the joint extraction of ocean-floor ferromanganic concretions will be started.

The Interokeanmetal has announced a competition for the best model of industrial vessels capable of extracting and processing concretions and without upsetting the ecological balance of the Pacific Ocean. The prospecting for minerals in the Pacific continues. Professor Fedynskiy was replaced by the large research ship Geolog Peter Antropov, which has scientific research instruments and extraction equipment on board. The ship's crew conducts experiments on deep-sea concretions extraction.

Shabanov, Petrovskiy Hold News Conference

Shabanov on Afghan Pullout

AU1301115189 Paris AFP in English 1134 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, Jan 13 (AFP)—The "second stage" of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will start "soon", Soviet Deputy Defence Minister General Vitaliy Shabanov told a press conference here on Friday.

Soviet leaders "firmly intend" to respect the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan under which all Soviet troops will leave the country by February 15, Gen. Shabanov said.

Meanwhile Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the Afghan question had reached a "decisive period" and said he hoped that the United States, as joint guarantor of the Geneva accords, would provide "constructive continuity" when President-elect George Bush took office later this month. [passage omitted]

Petrovskiy on UN Role

LD1301103389 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—"The United Nations' new task in our interdependent world is to become an effective means for promoting universal consensus, a conscientious regulator of the integrational processes, a motive force in creating a stable world order," it was stated by the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy. He addressed today a news conference, devoted to the third anniversary of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15th, 1986, in which he advanced the program to rid the world of nuclear and other mass annihilation weapons by the year 2000.

However, the deputy minister continued, the United Nations cannot be efficient if it fails to get the support of nations in its undertakings and actions. "The Soviet Union sides with the United Nations in words and deeds. Strict adherence to all its committments to international organisations is a distinctive feature of our policy of new thinking." In this connection Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the Soviet Union had paid the first half of its annual contribution to the United Nations for 1989, amounting to 37.1 million dollars, and planned to pay the rest somewhat later. The point in question is to allocate in proper time the necessary funds for current and planned U.N. peace-keeping operations and to continue to settle one's debts.

"We hope," the Soviet diplomat said, "that all the other states, primarily the permanent Security Council members, will realise their responsibility for the normal functioning of international organisations and will act accordingly."

Further activation of the United Nations, he noted, is unquestionably linked with finances. "But another thing is obvious, too. We have to pay for peace. In any case these spendings are much lower than the material and political expenses linked with unilateral peace-keeping operations, let alone the fact that peace is always cheaper than war."

We should not overlook, Vladimir Petrovskiy stressed, such a factor as mutual aid. No state is guaranteed against tragic disasters. In this connection he expressed gratitude for the aid rendered to the Soviet people in their effort to overcome the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. "This tragedy has once again proved conclusively the need and usefulness of international interaction in our integrated world."

On Disarmament 'Real Opportunities'

LD1301110389 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—Building a world free of nuclear weapons and violence means not just eliminating weapons of mass destruction but basically changing international relations, a Soviet deputy foreign minister said today.

Vladimir Petrovskiy was speaking at a news conference devoted to the 3rd anniversary of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986 in which he set forth a programme for ridding the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation by the year 2000.

"A non-nuclear world, in our view, is a fundamentally new, humane and democratic world setup in which security, both national and international, is ensured by law, rather than by military-technical and political means and force," Petrovskiy said.

Already the first steps in the field of disarmament, he went on, show that disarmament opens real opportunities for releasing material and intellectual resources which can be used for development purposes.

"For instance, the conversion of facilities producing missiles and launchers for civilian use will help save more than 300 million roubles," the deputy foreign minister said.

"Disarmament would also help mobilise resources to ensure steady development, preserve and improve environmental quality, pay off debts, and strengthen the United Nations' peace-making potential."

Petrovksiy said the task of ridding mankind of the burden of deadly weapons is not easy and that the first steps in this field meet with mistrust and resistance on the part of influential quarters which continue thinking in militarist terms.

However, the international community hopes the coming 21st century will be a new peace period for our civilisation, marked by development and affirmation of human values priority, he said.

Urges Namibia Fulfillment

LD1301111189 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The Soviet Union comes out consistently for the scrupulous fulfilment of the U.N. decisions on Namibia, including the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 435, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy stated at a press conference here today.

Asked about the progress of Security Council deliberations on the U.N. plan for Namibia, he said that "definite changes had occurred since the adoption of that resolution, particularly in the estimation of the spendings connected with its implementation. According to estimates, calculated in the United Nations in 1979, they amounted then to 350 million dollars. Today, according to preliminary figures of the U.N. Secretariat, the total sum amounts to 800 million dollars. This is why, apart from the implementation of the U.N. plan, the question arose of reasonably economizing the available funds."

The Soviet Union approaches this problem with understanding. However, "economy measures should not affect the essense of the U.N. plan for Namibia, should not impair its political goals", Vladimir Petrovskiy stressed.

It was moved during the Security Council deliberations, for instance, that the U.N. military contingent in Namibia should be reduced by stages as the implementation of the plan progresses, that troops from nearby African countries should be included in it, the diplomat said.

The Soviet Union is convinced that given goodwill and a desire for cooperation, Petrovskiy stressed, it is possible to find a solution guaranteeing the implementation of Resolution 435.

TASS on Shevardnadze LE FIGARO Interview

LD1101112689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 11 Jan, (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, has given an interview to the newspaper LE FIGARO in which he touched on a wide range of issues on a number of very important world problems and spoke about the USSR's position on the processes currently of concern to the international community.

Dwelling on the USSR's new initiatives on a unilateral cut in conventional weapons set out in M.S. Gorbachev's address at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, E.A. Shevardnadze said, in particular, that at the present time the drawing up of specific options for these cuts is coming to an end and the schedule for their implementation is being determined. Soviet troops and weapons will be cut under conditions of glasnost and openness. This presupposes the presence of foreign representatives, including journalists, at arrangements connected with this.

The unilateral measures we have outlined are an important, organic step in restructuring the Soviet Armed Forces on the principles of reasonable sufficiency for defense. We are attaching no provisos of any kind to these cuts. Nevertheless, we would welcome it if the West were to confirm its readiness to strengthen security in Europe with practical steps. Naturally, we hope our decisions will have a stimulating effect on the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe and will promote the quickest possible attainment of progress there.

Touching on current claims by some NATO circles of some "immense superiority" of the Soviet Union and its allies in conventional weapons, the USSR foreign minister pointed out that there are, of course, imbalances and a certain asymmetry, but they cannot change the overall correlation of forces and their approximate parity. Such a parity really does exist. It is apparent if only from the fact that approximately the same level of military confrontation has been maintained in Europe for decades. The truth is that we have had, and still have, a situation in which neither side has been able, or is able, to count on having a decisive military advantage. In this connection the Soviet minister recalled that almost a year ago the Warsaw Pact member states proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Pact officially exchange figures on their troops and conventional weapons in Europe. However, the NATO countries have not yet accepted this proposal. They have preferred to publish unilaterally their own estimates, based on a selective approach.

In the view of the USSR foreign minister, the prospect for a start of European talks on disarmament in the first half of March is emerging today. The talks will begin in a very favorable atmosphere, offering hope for rapid progress and a substantial result.

We all have to prepare for this. In particular we must actively keep within our purview the issue of holding an all-European summit meeting with the participation of all states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act.

Replying to a question on the USSR's position on the short-range missiles problem, the USSR foreign minister said: The program for transition to a nonnuclear world, formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986, also envisages the elimination of this class of nuclear weapons.

As is well known, in Vienna the Soviet Union advocated from the very outset that tactical nuclear weapons—including, of course, short-range missiles, that is up to 500-km—be included in the mandate for talks on cutting

armed forces and armaments in Europe. But the NATO countries categorically objected to this. Consequently a formula was agreed upon in Vienna according to which tactical nuclear systems were not the subject of these talks. At the same time an accord has been achieved that the so-called dual-capable systems will not be excluded from the talks.

As before, the Soviet Union is ready, within the framework of implementing cuts in forces and arms, to negotiate high-priority cuts in tactical nuclear weapons. It is, after all, clear that a major reduction in forces and conventional weapons, which substantially brings down the level of the mutual threat of sudden attack and conduct of offensive operations, essentially removes all grounds for preserving tactical nuclear weapons in the military arsenals of the NATO and Warsaw Pact states.

Dwelling on certain problems of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue in the field of nuclear disarmament, E.A. Shevardnadze said: Unfortunately, the elaboration of a treaty for a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons has been hampered by the well-known U.S. position that proposes, instead of strengthening the ABM Treaty—this foundation of strategic stability—beginning a joint transition to a "regime with greater reliance on defense," that is, the deployment of weapons in space. We are counting on the new administration introducing amendments to this position. Otherwise it will be a long time before we see a treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons. In this regard it is as yet premature to speak of any new initiatives of ours in this field. The ball is in the U.S. court.

Assessing the role and importance of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out that the USSR considers the complete banning of chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles to be a priority task. We expect the conference to give a powerful stimulus to the talks on the elaboration of a convention banning these weapons, and we are seeking for this to be all-encompassing, i.e. that it should envisage the destruction of all stockpiles of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production. This should certainly be under effective international verification, including ensuring that international inspectors have access to any installation without the right to refusal should any suspicion arise. The USSR has never used chemical weapons, has not given them to others, does not site chemical weapons beyond its own territory, and does not produce them.

In conclusion, the USSR foreign minister said: The sufficiently broad coincidence in the foreign policy priorities and approaches of our countries that has appeared of late testifies to the great potential of Soviet-French political dialoge. We consider that the forthcoming visit to France by M.S. Gorbachev will take our relations to considerably great heights of mutual understanding and cooperation.

United States & Canada

Kozyakov Views Reagan Farewell Address

LD1301022689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] And now, Vladislav Kozyakov, of Radio Moscow, comments on President Ronald Reagan's farewell address to the American people.

As the Americans were listening to the televised address from the White House many, I believe, welcomed what Ronald Reagan had to say about relations with the Soviet Union. Not only have the superpowers, the President said, actually begun to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons—and hope for even more progress is bright—but the regional conflicts that rocked the globe are also beginning to cease.

We have, for the past few years, Ronald Reagan added, forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union. Ronald Reagan praised Mikhail Gorbachev, with whom he'd met five times, and he described the Soviet policies—both domestic and foreign—as a key factor of better American-Soviet relations.

For the sake of justice we must say what's been achieved in bilateral relations in the past few years has been achieved by both the Soviet Union and the United States. We know from history American presidents, both Democrats and Republicans, have had problems improving relations with the Soviet Union. Franklin Roosevelt had to break the resistance of right-extremist politicians and displayed political courage when he was adopting a decision to establish diplomatic relations back in the 30's and improve allied relations with the Soviet Union during the Second World War. And President John Kennedy had to reject the objections of the outspoken conservatives when a treaty was signed in 1963 to partially ban nuclear weapons tests.

Many in the United States have objected to the INF Treaty and other agreements with the Soviet Union. President Reagan's common sense has helped sign them.

When Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev were meeting for the first time in 1985 in Geneva they shook hands on the key principles of relations. They agreed on no war—either nuclear or conventional—and spelled out the aim of Soviet-American talks: ending the arms race on earth and averting a race of this kind in space. When nuclear disarmament began to get action, our two nations lay the foundation for broader cooperation in many areas. Time has come to build a house on this foundation, no matter how difficult this may prove.

On relations with the Soviet Union President Reagan had this to say in his farewell address. We must keep our guard, he said, but we must also continue to work together to lessen and eliminate tension and mistrust. I want, Ronald Reagan added, the new closeness to continue.

U.S. Cancels Mediterranean Naval Exercises

LD1201223389 Moscow TASS in English 2217 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

The United States has cancelled the planned naval exercises off the Libyan coast.

Major William O'Connell, an official spokesman for the Pentagon, said on Thursday that the U.S. Sixth Fleet had earlier announced an intention to carry out an air operation in international air space and over international waters in the central Mediterranean on January 16 and 17. The plans changed and the announcement was cancelled. He said the operations were expected to be carried out in another part of the Mediterranean.

Other Pentagon officials said the cancelled exercises were to involve ships and aircraft from the battle group led by the aircraft carrier "John F. Kennedy," which completes its sixth-month stay in the Mediterranean, and of the battle group led by the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt" which is to replace it. Each battle group consists of 13 ships, including aircraft carriers. Missile firings were to be conducted during the exercises.

On Tuesday 'Ali al-Turayki, permanent representative of Libya at the United Nations, described the planned exercises as provocative.

The UPI news agency pointed out that the exercises had been cancelled against the background of international concern over U.S. threats to deliver a strike at the Libyan plant which, as the United States asserts, has been built with a view to producing chemical weapons. Libya emphasizes that the plant is a pharmaceutical enterprise.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Officials Write on Northern Territories

OW1301013489 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 2300 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] The latest issue of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's organ carries an unusual article introducing the claims of Japan to the northern territories in detail.

This is interpreted as the revelation of a shift in the position of the Soviet authorities, who have hitherto reported to their own people only the Soviet stand on the issue.

According to Yamaguchi, correspondent in Moscow, the article carried in the January issue of the Soviet Foreign Ministry organ INTERNATIONAL LIFE is entitled "Regarding Japan's Claims to Territories Against the Soviet Union" and is coauthored by two experts on Japan including (Khorkov), first secretary of the Foreign Ministry Treaty and Legal Department.

The article takes the form of first giving the Soviet views on the territorial question, then introducing in detail the Japanese claims, and again raising polemics against the claims. It concludes by saying that Japan's stand in not recognizing the facts following World War II is unproductive, but adds that if both sides can face the existing fact squarely, the conclusion of a peace treaty is fully possible.

There is nothing new in what the Soviets assert, but it is the first time they have made public the Japanese claims on the matter, and that not just scholars, but also officials active in diplomacy have dealt with the question openly.

Hyundai Chairman Interviewed on USSR Visit

PM1201132189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Chong Chu-yong, honorary chairman of the "Hyundai" group and honorary chairman of the Federation of Korean Industrialists, by G. Charodeyev: "South Korean Businessmen in Moscow"; date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A delegation from "Hyundai," the largest South Korean financial and industrial group, which incorporates about 50 national firms employing 170,000 specialists of different kinds, is in our country for the first time at the invitation of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry. In an interview with IZVESTIYA Mr Chong Chu-yong, honorary chairman of the "Hyundai" group and honorary chairman of the Federation of Korean Industrialists, talked about the aims of the visit by the businessmen's delegation.

[Chong] Representatives of Soviet business and scientific circles and foreign trade organizations have visited South Korea recently. During the visits they talked about restructuring in the Soviet Union. We were very interested in everything concerning the restructuring of the economy, and it prompted us on to become better acquainted with the Soviet reality. A program of transformations in the Far East and in Siberia was outlined in some of President Gorbachev's speeches. We studied them carefully. We businessmen are attracted by these ideas. These lands of plenty must be transformed as quickly as possible, and this can be done by joint efforts. This is why I have come here.

[Charodeyev] Tell us about the activity of your financial and industrial group.

[Chong] "Hyundai" has been in existence since 1947. The group's annual capital turnover is $25 billion per year. In 1988 its income was $5.4 billion. We engage in production and commerce. In particular, the firms in our group produce motor vehicles and ships of all types in existence in the modern world. Our enterprises produce railroad cars and electric locomotives. We construct steel foundries and fit them with modern equipment. "Hyundai" produces cement and all the accompanying technology. Our enterprises produce electronic equipment, including computers, and various kinds of household appliances.

In the USSR we shall be looking for and studying opportunities to build aluminum plants, produce pulp, and develop timber resources, manufacturing furniture, for example, on this basis. We may construct various facilities to produce construction materials. We shall study opportunities for coal mining in this region. I stress that by looking for opportunities we shall be able to take part more effectively in implementing the program to boost Siberia and the Far East.

We want to send here a group of specialists, each of whom will make in his own sector a more detailed study of your resources, opportunities, and needs. Then we will put together all the information which we have gathered and make a final decision together with representatives of Soviet business circles.

[Charodeyev] Now the protection of the environment is a burning issue in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. Will these questions be discussed in preparing and implementing the joint projects?

[Chong] On questions of protecting the environment "Hyundai" will follow all the Soviet authorities' recommendations and requests.

[Charodeyev] Your visit is coming to an end; can you confidently say that you can do business with the Soviet Union as a business trading partner?

[Chong] Personally I believe that we can work hand in hand and do very important business. I have met with various people both in Moscow and Leningrad and liked their human qualities. They struck me as being very sincere and open. I believe that people's personal qualities are reflected in their work.

At the end of October last year, in his address to citizens, our President No Tae-u recommended that industrialists take an active part in the Soviet program to transform Siberia and the Far East. Through joint economic cooperation with the USSR, he said, some beneficial work can be done for both countries.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow on Reaction to SRV Troop Withdrawal

BK1301060789 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Commentary by station observer Vasiliy Fedorov]

[Text] After many years of monitoring developments in Cambodia and the surrounding area, we have never seen such unanimous acclaim for Vietnam's move as this, now. Let me recall what happened:

A few days ago, on 6 January to be precise, Hanoi, with the agreement of Phnom Penh, decided to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by September 1989 if by then a political solution is reached. What should be understood by this term solution?

In Vietnam's view, the withdrawal should be accompanied by a cease-fire, a cessation of military aid to all opposition factions, and the termination of using foreign territory to stage activities which interefere in Cambodia's internal affairs. Hanoi holds that the implementation of the above conditions should be done under effective international control.

It should be recalled that reactions from foreign countries have all been in favor of this move. For instance, the PRC Foreign Ministry reacted quickly and expressed satisfaction over Vietnam's decision. A representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry stated: This is a step forward. We welcome such developments.

This statement shows that Beijing now no longer rules out the possibility of resuming direct talks with Vietnam in the near future over the Cambodian problem and other issues.

We think that Thailand's reactions are of great importance. This country's foreign minister, who is now in Hanoi, welcomed the decision of the SRV Government. Together with his Vietnamese counterpart, the Thai foreign minister expressed his belief that the Cambodian problem will be solved this year through political means. We would like to once again stress the importance of Thailand's stance because it is Thailand which has so far continued to allow its territory to be used by the Khmer factions hostile to the PRK.

It should be realized that now there are possibilities for the people concerned to solve this complex and most difficult issue.

There is another aspect which emerges when analyzing public opinion supporting Vietnam's decision: It should be recalled that half a year ago, we said it would be better if a political dialogue on the Cambodian problem began. Now, 6 months later, people are talking about the end of this dialogue. The majority of the people think that this can be achieved before the end of 1989. In my view, this timetable is totally practical, although there is still quite a lot of work to be done in the period ahead. But reality is evident: Vietnam and the PRK have traveled part of the route. Now it is the turn of the Khmer opposition factions.

Moscow Comments on Vietnamese-Thai Statement

BK1301050389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Station commentary by Vladimir Korolov—read bu announcer]

[Text] Vietnam and Thailand are in favor of the quickest political settlement of the Cambodian issue, a settlement which should take into account the interests of people in the country and in other states in the region. This is stated in the joint statement on the outcome of the talks in Hanoi between the two countries' foreign ministers.

In the view of our commentator, Vladimir Korolov, right from the start the Cambodian conflict spread over Cambodia's borders. Some states in Southeast Asia and even states outside this region, to a certain degree, are involved in the Cambodian conflict; for example, Thailand. There are currently in Thailand bases and camps of the Pol Pot group and of the other two opposing Cambodian groups which have been carrying out armed raids to harass the Cambodian people, who are busy building a new life in their own country. Another example is Vietnam, whose volunteer troops, at the request of the PRK Government, have rushed to assist the Cambodian people to achieve their revolutionary gains.

Only recently, it was hard to imagine that Thailand and Vietnam, which are involved in the Cambodian conflict for different reasons, could sit at the same negotiating table. And now the representatives of the two sides considered that these talks were very useful and said during the talks that their positions on a solution to the Cambodian problem have been brought closer together.

This is evidence of a new political thinking, which is putting down its roots more and more firmly in the international arena, such as in the Southeast Asian region. In the joint statement on the outcome of the Vietnamese-Thai talks in Hanoi, the necessity to end outside interference in Cambodia's internal affairs and the achievement of national reconciliation in Cambodia were highlighted. It is gladly noted that increasing numbers of the parties involved in the Cambodian conflict have voiced support for this kind of solution.

In truth, how can one talk about the peaceful future of Cambodia, the motherland of every Cambodian, if the genocidal Pol Pot clique can return to this land? The answer is, one cannot. Up to now, the Pol Pot clique tance. This is another key point to solving the Cambodian problem. Another key is the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia. In accordance with a decision by Hanoi and Phnom Penh, all Vietnamese troops

will leave Cambodia by September 1989 at the latest if there is a political solution to the Cambodian problem. This initiative has been welcomed by many countries the world over. In the Soviet Union's view, this initiative has already opened the way this year toward eliminating tension in Southeast Asia, and people will not let this chance slip away, concludes our commentator.

Thai Foreign Minister's SRV Visit Hailed

OW1201135789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila is going to visit Hanoi. Station commentator Nikolayev writes in this connection:

It is expected that the two sides will particularly discuss the question of how to expand Vietnamese-Thai relations as well as issues concerning a political settlement of the Cambodian situation.

It should be pointed out that the Vietnamese Government always advocates establishing peaceful, mutually beneficial, and good-neighborly relations with Thailand. What is gratifying is that Hanoi's foreign policy has brought about tangible beneficial results. It is significant that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's visit to Bangkok last June resulted in a dialogue between the two countries.

It can be said that definite changes have taken place in the political situation in Southeast Asia. Vietnam withdrew 50,000 of its troops from Cambodia in 1988, a step which is of decisive significance in this regard. Hanoi announced on 6 January that all Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Cambodia by September 1989.

It should also be pointed out that Vietnam and Cambodia agreed to the general principles for handling the Cambodian issue. The leaders of the political forces in Cambodia, and representatives of the three Indochinese countries and of the ASEAN nations, reached the conclusion at the Bogor meeting that the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia and the prevention of the Pol Pot clique from staging a comeback are key, interrelated conditions for settling the issue. The results of this meeting are welcomed by various quarters.

I like to emphatically point out that the positions of the Soviet Union and China are close to each other on some aspects of the Cambodian issue. During Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's recent visit to Moscow, the two countries reiterated that efforts should be made to help solve the aspects of the Cambodian issue involving other countries. It is now particularly important that efforts should be made to help eliminate the sources of tension in Southeast Asia. I believe that constructive coordination between Vietnam and Thailand will certainly be helpful in this regard. As is known to all, Bangkok leaders have stated that they hope to turn the war-torn Indochina into a region of peace and cooperation. We believe deeply that the Thai foreign minister's forthcoming visit to Vietnam will be successful. And Thai Prime Minister Chunhawan will also visit Hanoi later.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Parliamentary Group Holds Moscow Talks

Delegation Arrives 9 Jan

LD0901211689 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—A delegation of the National Council (parliament) of the Afghan Republic arrived in Moscow on Monday at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is led by Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, president of the People's Chamber of the Council.

Lukyanov Meets Delegation

PM1201115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks With Afghan Parliamentarians"]

[Text] On 11 January A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin an Afghan parliamentary delegation headed by K.A. 'Abawi, chairman of the People's Chamber of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan, which is paying an official visit to our country.

A.I. Lukyanov told the Afghan parliamentarians about the work under way in the country on restructuring, the consistent democratization of all spheres of the life of Soviet society, the radical reform of the political system, and the course of the election campaign to nominate candidate people's deputies of the USSR, and briefed them on the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held the day before. It was pointed out that the Soviet Union's enterprising actions in the international arena in the spirit of the new political thinking, the support of allies and friends, and the realism of our partners in talks are producing results and contributing to a certain easing of the situation in the world. The political settlement of remaining regional conflicts assumes special significance in this context.

It was emphasized that the Soviet leadership is attentively following the situation in Afghanistan and making every effort to ensure that such a powerful factor as all-around, large-scale Soviet-Afghan cooperation works actively in the interests of the speediest attainment of an all-embracing Afghan settlement. Firmly following this principled line, the Soviet Union is taking all the steps in its power to help Afghans sit around the common table of peace talks.

K.A. 'Abawi reported on the National Council's activity in consolidating Afghan society in the name of achieving national concord and peace on Afghan soil. On behalf of his country's parliament he expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its immutable and consistent support for the Afghan people, even at the sharpest turning points in their history. The first visit to the USSR by a delegation of Afghan parliamentarians, K.A. 'Abawi declared, will promote a further improvement in mutual understanding and the development of the traditional friendship and good-neighborly cooperation between our countries and peoples.

Great attention was devoted in the talks to a discussion of specific questions connected with implementing the proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah for the speediest attainment of an all-embracing Afghan settlement. It was pointed out that the establishment of a constructive inter-Afghan dialogue, with the participation of all the political forces involved in the conflict, and the realization of the idea of convening a consultative group ("Peace Jirgah") consisting of representatives of these forces and groupings, would open up the way to ending the fratricidal war and creating a government on a broad coalition basis. By rejecting the cease-fire proposal and refusing talks representatives of the armed opposition assume all responsibility for the continued bloodshed on Afghan soil.

The Soviet side expressed readiness to give the Afghan people all-around assistance in restoring the country's economy, undermined by a war lasting many years, and in repatriating returning refugees.

On behalf of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan, K.A. 'Abawi invited a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to pay a reciprocal visit to the friendly country. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Kharchev Receives Group

LD1001233089 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—"The main task of the Soviet state in its relationship with religion during the perestroyka period is to create conditions for a normal functioning of religious organisations in the USSR and to correct the mistakes made in the past," Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, stated today. He received here a parliamentary delegation of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan led by Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, head of the People's Chamber of the council. This is the first visit of an Afghan parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union.

All the participants in the meeting unanimously described it as a lively, interesting and open conversation held in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Members of the Afghan delegation heard with much attention speeches of Kharchev and Talgat Tadzhuddin, head of the spiritual board of Moslems of the Soviet Union's European part and Siberia, who told them about the history and the present state of the relationship between the state and the religious bodies in the USSR.

"From the very beginning Soviet power based it on a correct political line whose essence consisted in noninterference in each other's affairs," Kharchev said. However, after Lenin's death and until recently a policy pursued in this sphere differed from Lenin's concept.

Kharchev told the guests that 12 Shi'ite mosques had been opened in Azerbaijan in 1988 alone. It is worth mentioning for the sake of comparison that before 1988 there had been 17 mosques in the republic. Another five Moslem praying centres were opened in the Russian Federation last year.

Members of the Afghan delegation could not but mention the situation in their country which had been at war for many years.

On the same day the Afghan delegation visited the Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. They also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Afghan parliamentarians visited Lenin's study and flat turned into a memorial museum and saw the sights of the Kremlin.

Afghan Parliamentarian Comments

LD1201205989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 12 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valentin Dvinin; interview with Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, chairman of the Afghan National Council People's Chamber, by special correspondent Sergey Rybin in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] A delegation of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan flew from Moscow for Kabul today. Our special correspondent Sergey Rybin met the head of the delegation, Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, chairman of the People's Chamber.

[Rybin] The day is drawing nearer when the Soviet limited contingent will be withdrawn from Afghanistan. As a deputy, you should have a good idea about the mood of your electorate. What do the Afghan people think today about the future of their country?

['Abawi, in vernacular fading into Russian translation] As our leader Najibullah said recently, we view the future with optimism. We are grateful to the Soviet servicemen, who have fulfilled their international duty with honor. The withdrawal of the troops is, first and foremost, testimony of the Soviet Union's firm intention to fulfill the Geneva agreements; this cannot be said for the United States. The only wish of the ordinary Afghan is that there may be peace in our shattered land. The people are tired of war. Nevertheless, I am unable to say today that the situation in Afghanistan is simple and

clear, and that everything will end up fine, with peace and accord. You probably know that the armed opposition responded to our proposal for a cease-fire from 1 January with a refusal. Blood is once again being shed.

[Rybin] How do you assess the results of Comrade Vorontsov's talks in Islamabad and Tehran?

['Abawi] These talks are of great political significance. I would just like to emphasize that the visits by the USSR first deputy foreign minister to Rome, Pakistan, and Iran were made in agreement with our government, which in this way expressed the will of the people.

[Rybin] Are you a member of the PDPA?

['Abawi] No, I am not a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

[Rybin] What is your attitude to the possibility of the setting up of a broad-based coalition government, with the participation of all the forces involved in the conflict?

['Abawi] We are prepared to set up such a coalition government, but at the same time we are prepared for it to comprise representatives not only of those opposition parties and organizations operating in Afghanistan, but also of representatives of the extreme opponents of the present regime. However, in order to set up such a political system in the country on a broad basis, our wish alone is not enough. The goodwill of the other side is also needed. The leaders of the Peshawar Alliance of Seven are openly talking about a monopoly of power, and of opposing the participation in running the country not only of the PDPA but also other opposition figures, including the former king. But we are still hoping that in the short time which remains before the final withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the talks will lead to some kind of compromise solution.

Talks Between Morocco, Polisario Examined

PM1201165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer K. Geyvandov article under the rubric "Event: Essence and Opinion": "Face to Face for the First Time. Talks and Discussions in Marrakesh"]

[Text] The Moroccan city of Marrakesh recently hosted an event whose significance, in my view, can hardly be overestimated, particularly if it enjoys further positive development. I mean the first meeting between King Hassan II of Morocco and a delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro [Polisario]. These are the two sides involved in the long armed conflict which arose practically immediately after Spain renounced its possessions in Western Sahara. The thing is that Morocco considers these territories to be southern provinces of Morocco, while Polisario considers them lands of the Western Saharan people—on which basis it proclaimed the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic [SDAR] in 1976. It has been recognized by more than 65 countries and admitted to OAU membership.

The diametrically opposed nature of the positions left its mark even on the sides' verbal formulations of what happened in Marrakesh. The Moroccans call it a meeting, remembering the statement of King Hassan II, who said on inviting Polisario's representatives to meet him: "I am prepared to discuss, but not to hold talks." But the SDAR Information and Culture Ministry communique calls them talks. It states that they "were held in a serious atmosphere and touched on ways to settle the conflict in Western Sahara." The Moroccan Information Ministry report formulates the same thought as follows: The conversations touched on the situation in Western Sahara and the prospects for holding a referendum on that territory, which question has already been resolved.

Strictly speaking, that was all that was said officially following the 2-day meetings in Marrakesh. Such extreme caution once again underlines the entire delicacy of the situation. Nevertheless, the very fact that the sides met face to face and, to use the Moroccan monarch's expression, discussed things with each other is reassuring. First, because personal contacts have begun, which must be regarded as mounting the psychological barrier. Second, because a mutual accord was reached to continue the dialogue begun. I believe this is a step in the right direction, toward each other.

Such a dialogue will evidently lead to activation of the process of seeking ways to settle the Western Saharan conflict, which UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has been pursuing recently. Under his auspices indirect talks were organized in New York on the basis of OAU and UN General Assembly decisions between the sides involved in the conflict, which made it possible to reach agreement in principle on holding a referendum on self-determination for Western Sahara. However, we will not close our eyes to the remaining contradictions connected, for example, with the question of the presence on this territory of Moroccan troops and a Moroccan administration at the time of voting.

The hope is now being expressed that the continuation of the dialogue begun in Marrakesh will help create an atmosphere of trust, which is so essential when preparing for and holding the referendum. In all probability these direct talks will also aid the search for a compromise and the elaboration of mutually acceptable terms for the conflict's final settlement. At present we can only guess at what it will be like. Thus, observers in the Moroccan capital have noticed that King Hassan II has made a number of statements in recent months in which he spoke positively about the FRG's federative state system. Perhaps, the newspaper AL-'ALAM remarked in this connection, this form of government may be the solution to the Western Saharan problem, in that the population of Western Sahara will have financial and administrative independence.

But does Polisario agree with such a project? I do not yet know. I can only assume that it will advance counterproposals for discussion in the course of talks, based on the referendum results. At the same time I can cite a statement by Bachir Mustafa Sayed, member of the Polisario Executive Committee responsible for foreign relations, who participated in the Marrakesh meetings. When they ended, he voiced confidence that 1989 will be decisive for a political settlement of the conflict in Western Sahara. The start of the dialogue was also evaluated positively in the Front's communique.

Well, this development of events is in keeping with the tendency, which has recently become apparent, to renounce military force as a means of resolving disputed regional problems and to settle them on the basis of freedom of choice and a balance of the interests of all sides. The ending of the Western Saharan conflict would undoubtedly also have a positive effect on further rapprochement among the Maghreb countries, would help to rally the ranks of the Arab peoples and states, and would have a beneficial impact on the general improvement of the international climate.

Bessmertnykh Receives Iraqi Ambassador

LD1201135989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1316 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, has received Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador in Moscow, at the latter's request.

Questions were discussed regarding the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict as well as the state of the Afghanistan situation.

East Europe

Laws Raise Possibility of Multiparty Hungary

PM1201142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov report under the rubric "Events: Salient Points and Opinions": "Laws on Assemblies and Associations Adopted by Hungarian National Assembly Session"]

[Text] Budapest—It would be no exaggeration to say that the current session of the Hungarian National Assembly has adopted decisions of historic importance which, in many ways, will shape the country's further development.

However intensive the agenda of the National Assembly session, the attention of public opinion has possibly been drawn most to the course of the discussion on the draft laws governing assemblies and associations. This is understandable. After all, we are talking about the adoption of fundamental laws governing the fulfillment of most important human rights. The subject, we will be frank, is one of the most topical in Hungary's present-day sociopolitical life. In the last 6 months several dozen independent sociopolitical organizations have been formed in the country, some of which aspire to the status of political parties. The recently adopted law regulates their position. A special draft law on political parties is also to be submitted for consideration by parliament by 1 August.

So what is the procedure at the moment for forming social organizations? What is forbidden? What is allowed? According to Hungarian Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar, whose speech opened the work of the new parliamentary session, the law permits citizens to form social organizations, political parties, trade unions, and mass movements, the aim of whose activity does not run counter to existing legislation or encroach on the rights and freedoms of other persons. The registration of political parties and organizations is the prerogative of the Constitutional Court. As long as the nature of the organization in question is not at variance with the law, it cannot be refused registration. In the event of disputes, the organization has the right to lodge a court appeal against the decision of the authorities.

With regard to the right of assembly, it provides for the possibility of holding peaceful assemblies, demonstrations, and various events, with the exception of cases where the staging of such an event is at variance with the constitution, territorial integrity, or Hungary's allied ties, discriminates on ethnic, racial, or religious grounds, or is an incitement to war or the commission of crimes. In order to hold a rally or demonstration the organizers must give the authorities 5 days prior notice if the event is going to involve more than 200 people or is to be staged in the center or any other busy part of a city. Only in the strictly defined cases mentioned above do bodies of authority have the right to prohibit the staging of demonstrations. Moreover, the organizers have the possibility to lodge a court appeal against the actions of the authorities within 3 days.

Press commentaries are pointing out that the laws on assemblies and associations will be a significant step on the way to creating a socialist rule-of-law state in Hungary. Special attention is being drawn to the fact that the concept of pluralism is now becoming part of the country's political life. Basically, the question of the possibility of creating a multiparty system is being placed on the agenda. In this connection the press and television refer to the speech delivered at the parliamentary session by J. Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who said that in order to create national unity in the country and form the broadest possible platform for implementing reforms, Hungarian Communists are prepared to cooperate and enter into a coalition with any progressive forces striving to follow the path of reform and socialist transformations.

TASS Notes Return to 'Normal' in Montenegro

LD1201132189 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 12 TASS—Life is back to normal in Titograd after a special plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Montenegrin League of Communists (LCM), which examined the political situation in the republic, ended its work.

Now there are no crowds on the square in front of the republican parliament, where many thousands of workers, students and residents from Titograd and other Montenegrin cities, demonstrated for 36 hours. Protesters demanded that the party and government leadership of the republic resign. Demonstrators dispersed after hearing that the LCM Central Committee had accepted the resignations of the Presidium of the LCM Central Committee, the Montenegrin government and representatives of the Montenegrin party organisation at the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

The Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the supreme organ of state authority in the country, discussed the situation in Montenegro on Wednesday evening. It pointed to the need for observing legality and public law and order and ensuring the non-stop operation of all industrial enterprises and organisations.

IZVESTIYA on Yugoslav Government Crisis

PM1201170989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov report: "Yugoslavia Seeking a Premier"]

[Text] Belgrade—Another collective resignation by the leadership. This time in the republic of Montenegro. The events began on Tuesday 10 January. Tens of thousands of Montenegrins gathered outside the republican assembly building. There were workers from various enterprises in the republic, miners from the pits, students with their professors, housewives with small children. Above their heads were banners: "We want bread!" "We want the immediate resignation of the entire leadership!" "Long live fraternity and unity!"...

The republic has been in turmoil for some months. The sharp deterioration in the working people's position, rampant nationalism, and total inactivity on the party of the local party leadership, which the newspapers describe as "deaf-mute" and which is infested with bureaucracy and corruption, have caused people's patience to run out. "The present leaders," Momir Bulatovic, one of the organizers of the rally, said in his speech there, "have shown that they have no time for the people. So the people do not want to know these leaders either."

Those present demanded the immediate collective resignation of the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium and all members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and other top functionaries who represent Montenegro on party and state leadership organs of the federation. The rally in Titograd lasted more than 30 hours. People stood outside the assembly building all night. The situation was very tense. But militia detachments and representatives of the security organs did not have to resort to emergency measures. Everything passed off without incident. On Wednesday afternoon 150,000 working people who had gathered in the square in front of the assembly carrying banners were told that a decision has been taken on collective resignations of the republic's leadership organs. The following resigned: The Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium, the presidium of the republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Montenegro, and the presidium of the republican Trade Unions Council. SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee members Veselin Djuranovic, Marko Orlandic, and Vidoje Zarkovic (who represented Montenegro on those supreme federal organs of power) also resigned.

At its 11 January session the SFRY Presidency examined the situation in Montenegro and proposed that measures be adopted to safeguard the functioning of all social and state institutions in the republic and the legality of the measures implemented. Note was also taken of the grave economic situation that has developed in Montenegro.

Today's newspapers write of these events as a convincing victory for the people, a victory for socialist democracy over statism and bureaucracy, which has always permeated the state and party leadership in Montenegro.

But the government crisis continues in the country. It has already been reported that the Federal Executive Council headed by Branko Mikulic, which has resigned collectively, will fulfill technical functions until the election of a new government and its approval by the Assembly. When will that be? The Yugoslav media suggest that a new cabinet will not be formed before the end of February. But people here write, quite correctly, that all this is merely reading the tea leaves. Let us not fall into that trap....

The main passions seethe over the candidates for the new chairman of the Federal Executive Council. So far 14 candidates have been named for this important state post. They include Slobodan Milosevic, currently president of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium.

As for Branko Mikulic, sharp critical arrows began to fire in his direction only a very short time after his election to the post in spring 1986. His government's lack of a clear economic policy, the vacillation from one extreme to the other, from a price "freeze" to "unfreezing," the unprecedented inflation which is out of control and has brought

a huge proportion of the country's population to the brink of "social tolerance," as they put it here—all this put together aroused such fury among the people that for the first time since the end of World War I the government resigned en bloc, together with the premier.

What is the extent of his responsibility? Great, people here believe. "The premier who killed the dinar...."—that is how the Yugoslav weekly ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA described B. Mikulic and his cabinet's activity. When the president of the Federal Executive Council announced the composition of his government, the weekly recalls, the correspondent for the London TIMES in Yugoslavia publicly shared her impressions: "You are proud," she said, "that the cabinet includes 11 doctors and masters of sciences. That is a mistake. You need expert politicians, not scientists. It is better to leave them in the institutes...." Economists who ruined the economy of their own state. Well, we will not dispute that.... What is needed is, of course, not only and not chiefly scientific theories, but practical actions, of which reality itself is the impartial judge.

Life in Yugoslavia is hard indeed. Last year prices increased by 250 percent. Unless urgent and radical measures are adopted, in the opinion of eminent specialists, inflation will exceed 500 percent this year. And that is nothing less than economic collapse. They recently showed a pair of scales on television by way of an "economic" illustration. On one side were bones, low-grade bread, rotting vegetables, mouldy cheese, and so forth. Newly minted 100-dinar coins were being poured onto the other side of the scales, from a polythene bag. The pile grew, but it did not manage to outweigh the "starvation" collection of food products on the other side of the scales.

The symbolism was obvious. Last year the dinar was "eroded" by more than two-thirds. The value of the metal and the minting of a 100-dinar coin now costs more than its actual purchasing power. The dinar exchange rate has fallen to an unprecedentedly low level. "Never before has our national monetary unit been so compromised on the international currency markets," Yugoslav financiers claim. "The dinar has become a permanently devaluing fiction...."

And indeed, the daily list of rates published by the newspapers presents a sad picture. The dinar is falling in relation to all convertible currencies, including even the "poor" Italian lira. And only the USSR Gosbank is "supporting" the Yugoslav currency with incomprehensible persistence, tactfully reducing the relationship between the ruble and the dinar by a kopek roughly once a month, although it is a long time since that relationship was in accordance with the real state of affairs. That kind of "help" will hardly help the Yugoslav currency system. But the ruble could be compromised.... Yet Soviet employees working in Yugoslavia and our poor (both literally and metaphorically) tourists suffer from this "strategy," because they receive in exchange for their precious rubles far fewer dinars than they should, on the basis of the true relationship between the currencies....

I do not intend to assert that the "statistically average" Yugoslav is worse off than his "average" Soviet counterpart. But on the basis of European standards, the main bulk of Yugoslavs are not too well off. Just before the new year TANJUG reported that the wages received by two-thirds of the country's workers are so meager that they are unable to feed their families. And about 4 million people, a large social group including pensioners, students, unskilled workers, and unemployed, live on the poverty line. "Where were we before and where have we ended up?" Engineer Djukanovic asks from the pages of POLITIKA-EKSPRES, and goes on to answer: "Even before the war Yugoslavia was among the worst in Europe in terms of minimum living standards, but it was nevertheless ahead of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and Portugal. Now, 43 years after the end of the war, all these states—with the possible exception of Albania—are ahead of us...."

Yes, there is food for thought. Especially since the new year has brought new disappointments to the Yugoslav people. It was officially announced that apartment rents will increase by more than 50 percent and prices for television sets and cars will increase by more than 30 percent, and food prices are rising nonstop. Even the cost of water has increased by almost 60 percent. People now have to pay for water as if they were living in some exotic oasis lost deep in the desert....

It was not surprising that last year was a year of social upheavals. According to the weekly NIN, almost 500,000 people took part in 1,348 strikes in Yugoslavia in just the first 10 months of last year. "This is now an epidemic," the weekly notes. "As the crisis in the country grows, the number of strikes rises; stopping work, which used to be an economic phenomenon as a rule, is now acquiring socioeconomic overtones with growing frequency." Working people are demanding urgent changes in the SFRY's economic and political systems, an end to the process of the social stratification of society, the elimination of all privileges enjoyed by the party and state apparatus, the enhancement of leaders' responsibility, and the consolidation of Yugoslavia's unity. No, Yugoslav citizens are not against socialist self-management. Their sharp criticism is aimed against the state and party bureaucracy and technocracy. According to NIN, the Yugoslav Trade Unions Council recently declared that it supports the economic demands by the country's working class and will join it in the just struggle to improve ordinary people's material position.

The crisis which has hit the country is fueling emigration. More than 1 million Yugoslavs have left their motherland in search of work and a better life abroad.

This is almost the same as the number of unemployed today, some 30,000 of whom are graduates of higher educational establishments and even hold candidate or doctor of sciences degrees.

Incidentally, people here speak with alarm about the steadily swelling "brain drain" from the SFRY. The weekly SVET recently reported that there are dozens of firms "operating" in Western countries which specialize in "hunting" specialists. In Yugoslavia they are interested in physicists and medical personnel, who are famous for their excellent training. About 50,000 Yugoslav specialists, the weekly reports, have left the country in the last few years. Their training has cost over $20 billion, an amount approximately equal to the SFRY's present external debt, which is a heavy burden on the Yugoslav economy.

It would of course be wrong to blame just B. Mikulic's cabinet for Yugoslavia's present difficulties. The legacy it inherited was, bluntly speaking, grave. Mountains of brochures and articles have been written about the sources and causes of the economic crisis which hit Yugoslavia and generated a political crisis. It is not feasible to analyze all this material in just one newspaper article, of course. Therefore, I will be extremely brief. The "Yugoslav model of socialism" is based on the operation of market laws. But in order for them to "operate" normally there is a need for a single market within the framework of the federation. And it is simply lacking in the country. A report prepared by a group of leading economists entitled "Yugoslavia in the World Economy on the Threshold of the 21st Century" says: "The process of decentralization did not result in the elimination of bureaucratic structures but, on the contrary, strengthened them at the republic, autonomous region, and municipal level. A technocratic structure reminiscent of a rigid state apparatus became firmly established in the economy.... The system of self-management failed to create or introduce qualitatively new incentive mechanisms which would intensify efficient economic activity. The sundry economic reforms, which were not scrupulously studied and prepared, were nothing but vain attempts to find a way out of current problems, and they failed to live up to expectations." That was the basic mistake or, if you like, the tragedy of the cabinet which has resigned....

The start of my work as a journalist in Yugoslavia coincided in time with the difficult period when terms like "economic crisis," "inflation," "unemployment," and "strike" were diligently deleted from dispatches because the prevailing opinion held that it was improper to combine them with the practice of socialist building. And our Yugoslav colleagues asked in amazement: "Why are you trying to do us favors? Why do you give an incorrect impression of our experience as a panacea for all social ills? Write frankly about our mistakes. This will give us an opportunity not to repeat them." Now we are writing without being afraid of "spoiling the good relations with Yugoslavia," because the "Yugoslav model of socialism" has been largely discredited today. Let us be frank about this.

Delivering the keynote report at last year's last LCY Central Committee plenum, S. Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, declared: "The country is living through a profound sociopolitical crisis. Without radical changes in prevailing views and renewal of the Yugoslav model of socialist self-management (my emphasis—L.K.), without the further material and spiritual development of society, it will be impossible to find a way out of the present economic crisis and of the crisis development of socialism in general.... The planned reforms are not being implemented, the party stops halfway, and Yugoslavia is now at a crossroads. Either a return to state socialism, or progress toward the socialist society of the 21st century. There is no other alternative...."

PRAVDA on Montenegro Political Situation

PM1201161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Fadeyev report under the rubric "Following Reader's Call": "Situation Remains Complex"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 January—A number of readers called the editorial office requesting an explanation of what is going on in Montenegro. We asked Ye. Fadeyev, our correspondent in Yugoslavia, to answer this question.

The actions by the working people which began yesterday in Montenegro's capital—Titograd—can be regarded as a continuation of those events that took place here in October last year. They were preceded by street demonstrations and protest meetings in the Vojvodina Autonomous Province where the masses demanded the resignation of the entire presidium of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee, and also the leaders of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Provincial Conference. These events, B. Colakovic, chairman of SAWPY Federal Conference, stated, "showed graphically how mistaken the former regional leaders' policy was and what the consequences are of blind bureaucratic isolation from the working people."

At that time in October, workers, office workers, and students in a number of Montenegran cities gathered at a meeting in Titograd to express their dissatisfaction with their social situation and the standard of living. The gravity of the situation can be judged by the fact that dozens of demonstrators were detained by the militia. The entire League of Communists Titograd Municipal Committee handed in its resignation.

And now the streets and squares of the Montenegran capital are filled with people once again. About 500,000 demonstrators—workers of a number of industrial enterprises, including the large Radoje Dakic plant, students and representatives of the intelligentsia—put the blame on the republic's leading organs for the deterioration in Montenegro's economic situation.

As TANJUG reported, the highest party and state leadership of this Yugoslav republic handed in its resignation today. The plenum of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee opened today. It will examine the political situation which has taken shape, and will discuss the question of calling an extraordinary congress of the republic's Communists.

Today the SFRY Presidium examined the situation in Montenegro. At a session of the country's highest state organ the necessity for the normal functioning of the republic's political and state organs was noted. The Presidium appealed to the Montenegrin working people to make sure that enterprises and organizations worked continuously, and that law and order is maintained.

Western Military 'Espionage' in GDR Viewed

PM1301094589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major Yu. Leonidov and Captain M. Zheglov: "Where the Dappled 'Mercedes' Are Speeding to, or Certain Instances of Unseemly Activity by Western Military Liaison Missions"]

[Text] Camouflaged low "Mercedes" and "Opels" and fast-moving "Landrover" and "Ford" all-terrain vehicles can quite often be seen on GDR roads. True, not on all of them. But on those which pass close to Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] military installations. They also appear on the territory of military ranges, not far from railroads along which military equipment is transported, and they "accompany" military convoys, frequently causing road accidents.

Who are the owners of these vehicles, whose numbers are not registered with the GDR police? Why do they make more than 3,000 trips every year, which are by no means for the purpose of tourism, to military facilities belonging to socialist states' armed forces?

Officially they are employees of the U.S., British, and French military liaison missions accredited to the GSFG command. These missions were set up after World War II on the basis of the "Agreement on the Control Mechanism in Germany" dated 14 November 1944, and were designed only to maintain laision among the commanders in chief of these states' armed forces. In time the military missions essentially became branches of U.S., British, and French military intelligence.

The liaison missions are made up of experienced specialists who are trained at intelligence centers, for example, at the U.S. Army Russian Institute in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in West Germany, the Institute of Eastern Languages in Paris, and the Beaconsfield Intelligence College (Britain). A number of employees of the military liaison missions perfected their professional skills as military attaches at their countries' embassies in the capitals of socialist states, in other intelligence organs of the U.S., British, and French armed forces, and in special force subunits: Rangers, "Green Berets." Their equipment also clearly indicates the nature of the tasks carried out by the military liaison missions' employees. The intelligence officers take with them a rich collection of optical, photographic, movie, and video equipment, dictaphones, and special devices for electronic reconnaissance. They have at their disposal vehicles with enhanced cross-country performance.

On their reconnaissance trips the Western mission members often ignore the borders of restricted zones established by the GSFG and clearly marked out by appropriate signs. In 1987-1988 alone Soviet servicemen put a stop, dozens of times, to unlawful activities in these areas by teams of vehicles from the U.S., British, and French missions. Captain Bennet Makkatchen [name as transliterated], a U.S. military intelligence officer, constantly violated the provisions of the current Agreement on Military Liaison Missions. In order to collect information about the GSFG he violated the borders of restricted zones 16 times, and moreover got involved in reckless hooligan escapades. The captain's espionage career ended after another, particularly impudent act. When the Soviet command protested he was reassigned early from the U.S. liaison mission.

Officers of the British military mission display equal zeal. For example, the activity of Captain David Brown and some of his colleagues was stopped in the region of one of the military facilities. The military intelligence officers were so engrossed in taking movie and still photographs of military equipment that they were taken unawares by Soviet servicemen. A large quantity of special intelligence equipment was taken from the British, including a night-vision device, a video camera with a video tape recorder, and photographic equipment with special accessories. Brigadier John Foley, chief of the mission, called all this espionage tackle "standard equipment." But the evidence presented by the Soviet command completely exposed the intelligence nature of Brown's activity, and a written protest was sent to the British side on behalf of the GSFG commander in chief.

The Soviet side reacted in the same way also to the unlawful activity of Lieutenant Sabi, NCO Bok, and Sergeant Bryune [names as transliterated], officers of the French liaison mission. They were photographing passing military aircraft from woodland in line with a military airfield's airstrip. From a jeep, Sabi was photographing aircraft using photographic apparatus equipped with a telephoto lens, Bok was using photographic equipment

with a long-focus lens, and Bryune was making observations through binoculars. The Soviet servicemen put a stop to the actions of these "amateur photographers" and confiscated their espionage material.

In order to obtain intelligence information the missions' officers not only use technical means but also try to contact Soviet servicemen in an attempt to get vital information during conversations. Captain Stephen Harrison of the British mission made repeated such attempts.

When procuring vital secret information, mission members consciously commit gross violations of the procedure and the rules governing their activity on GDR territory. Moreover, they resort to distorting the truth and juggling with facts and try to put all the blame for individual incidents on the Soviet side. This is exemplified by various kinds of speculation in connection with the tragic outcome when U.S. Major Nicholson found his way into a Soviet military facility and did not obey the guard's commands. But such irresponsible actions are fraught with danger for the lives not only of military liaison officials themselves but also of Soviet servicemen and civilians. In March 1988 French military intelligence officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Deme [name as transliterated], deputy chief of the mission, followed a military convoy in a vehicle and ignored a Soviet traffic controller's demand made to stop. As a result the traffic controller ended up on the "Mercedes'" hood. But this too failed to stop the French, who accelerated and stopped only when they were 3 km from a large forest. Many such examples can be cited.

The growing process of increasing confidence-building measures in such a sensitive area as the military sphere presupposes the unconditional and precise fulfillment by the sides of the pledges made, particularly of those which have withstood the test of time. The desire to use them in the interests of resolving short-term current tasks, as can be seen in the example of Western military liaison missions, harms the cause of advancing successfully along the path of further developing relations amd continuing the general process of detente.

Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Interviewed

AU1201162789 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 9 Jan 89 Issue 2 pp 1,11

[Interview with Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, by Penka Cherneva in Sofia on 31 December: "A Friendship Like a Living Organism"; first three paragraphs are Cherneva introduction]

[Text] One day before New Year we, a group of POGLED journalists, went to the Soviet Embassy—to finish an interview which had begun in writing. We carried with us just two gramophone records, with the eternal songs of Bulgaria and favorite Soviet songs, recorded at the choice and wish of thousands of readers. Instead of flowers and souvenirs, we carried those records as a symbol of the most sincere human affection. These songs indeed served as a warm, human background of shared thoughts in parting with 1988, at the threshold of 1989, which we would all like to be a better and a more fruitful one.

The question: "How would you like to be introduced to the POGLED readers?"—had remained unanswered. We did not wish to leave without asking it. "All right," the ambassador said, "an interview is an interview."

Viktor Vasiliyevich Sharapov was born in Moscow, on 17 March 1931 into a family of soldiers. He spent the summer of 1941 with his grandparents in a village in Tula Oblast. They did not manage to get evacuated on time and spent 2 months under the occupation. The Germans came and forced all people to leave their homes. It was a very snowy and cold winter. Later on, while they were trying to escape, the Germans set fire to the village. It was a beautiful, picturesque village, with brick houses and straw roofs. Do you know how straw can burn? These are his boyhood memories of war, how the straw roof of a house is burning, how they raided the railroad line 3 kilometers from the village. In 1943 he returned to Moscow. He survived the air raids over the capital. They were followed by the salvos and salutes of the victory at Kursk and Orel. This is how the time was spent until the end of the war....

[Cherneva] Happy New Year, Viktor Vasiliyevich! Our weekly POGLED has a rubric for departing diplomats entitled: "Instead of Goodbye," which does not apply. It is also too late for the "Welcome" rubric, because you have been in our country 9 months. However, instead of "hello," what would you like to tell our readers?

[Sharapov] First of all I would like to congratulate the POGLED editorial board for successfully solving the eternal question of the relationship between space and time. If we talk about space, I think that as far as the pages of a newspaper are concerned, it is determined by the framework of interesting and benevolent questions. As regards the question of time, your journal's questions give me the opportunity, instead of saying a belated "hello," to convey to your readers my sincere wishes for success in all their good initiatives and actions and to wish them a happy New Year, in which both the Bulgarian and Soviet people place so many hopes and plans.

[Cherneva] At the threshold of the New Year our minds usually turn to assessments. What, according to you, was the most important event of 1988 in the world, in the USSR, and Bulgaria?

[Sharapov] I think that in reviewing 1988, we can confidently state that it inspired many hopes related to the struggle for peace and international security. The Soviet-American INF Treaty and the beginning of its

practical implementation are the events of the year that have great consequences. They eloquently demonstrate that nuclear disarmament is not the result of abstract wishes, but a reality.

Many people in the West described the proposals that Mikhail Gorbachev submitted in his statements at the 43d UN General Assembly session as a New Year's gift to the world public. We will not discuss questions of terminology here, despite the fact that, in my opinion, it would be more appropriate, instead of talking about "gifts," to talk about profound understanding of universal human interests, stemming from the new political thinking, which is the guideline for all foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries. Above all the Soviet initiative, and the remarkable unilateral steps toward the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe and Asia, actually established a totally new political context for the discussion of questions related to disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, the solution of problems connected with the foreign debts of developing countries, and the establishment of an ecological security system.

As for the most important event in the domestic life of the Soviet Union in 1988, this certainly is the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Its decisions provide answers to the most crucial problem of our development—how to make the revolutionary restructuring process irreversible, and what else to do in the political sector in order to achieve this goal. There is even more: The conference set an example of deep involvement, of free and self-critical discussion, based on principle, of the problems facing the country. The conference demonstrated that great strength lies in the expression of different opinions and thoughts, in the confrontation of alternative solutions.

As regards Bulgaria, I think that the the BCP National Conference and the December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee were the main events of 1988. They discussed the tasks of practically applying the strategy of restructuring in Bulgarian society and demonstrated that we can and should renounce everything that has not been confirmed by practical experience, and search for a solution to the most important socioeconomic issues.

[Cherneva] It is said that politics is the art of the possible. Which things that were possible were accomplished last year, and what remained "impossible"?

[Sharapov] The year 1988 was a year of crucial turning points in many aspects. The Soviet-American INF Treaty made it possible to destroy the first series of nuclear missiles. The Geneva agreements on settling the situation in Afghanistan were signed. They mapped out methods for the solution of other regional conflicts as well. Iran and Iraq ceased fire in a conflict that had lasted 8 years. The opportunities for cooling down the hotbeds of tension in South Africa, Central America, and Asia considerably increased.

At the same time, not all opportunities of the treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons were used. Washington's unwillingness to place a permanent ban on the export of nuclear arms represented the main obstacle to this. We all had reason to hope that a universal convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons could have been signed in 1988.

Regardless of the fact that, according to the Geneva agreements, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are strictly fulfilling their obligations, blood is still being shed on Afghan soil and the armed intervention from the outside has not ceased.

In other words, the negative influence and stagnation inherited from the numerous contradictions and conflicts of the past continues to be effective. The process of transition from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation cannot yet be called irreversible.

[Cherneva] How would you describe diplomacy as an art? In your view, what are the most remarkable "landmarks" between Moscow and Washington? What is your forecast regarding the development of relations between the USSR and the United States under the George Bush administration?

[Sharapov] I could certainly say that as an art, diplomacy is very close to politics. In diplomacy, too, one should not only know one's own goals, but should also be aware of the possibility of achieving these goals.

Talking about "landmarks," I would point out Geneva and Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow. This is where, during the Soviet-American summit meetings, it was acknowledged that there could be no winners in a nuclear war and that such a war should not be started at all. The negotiations in Washington and Moscow further intensified the political dialogue between the USSR and the United States and established constructive foundations so that this dialogue may become traditional and proceed in a normal and healthy atmosphere.

As for the question of political forecasts, we know that this is a very unrewarding matter. I cannot fail to stress at the same time, that by starting serious negotiations over the last years, the USSR and the United States have accumulated tremendous experience. The opportunities for improving the general atmosphere of Soviet-American relations have increased. In his UN speech Mikhail Gorbachev stated that in the Soviet Union the future U.S. administration headed by George Bush will find a partner ready to pursue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, sincerity, and good will, without long interruptions and setbacks.

[Cherneva] While at the UN Mikhail Gorbachev once more urged people to renounce the arms race and to demilitarize their thoughts, on precisely the same day the earthquake in Armenia struck. In comparing these two events, we became strongly aware of how good it would be if misfortunes could subside, the guns be silent, and only the muses would speak....

[Sharapov] This is true, indeed. The tragedy in Armenia evoked an unusually powerful wave of human compassion and sympathy all over the world. I would even say that our country had never before felt such warm sympathy or been given so much material and moral support by foreign states, political parties and movements, representatives of business circles, religious communities, and millions of ordinary citizens. I think that these processes are not only the result of people's humanitarianism and compassion, but also a result of the changes in their attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, under the influence of our constructive and peace-loving policy, expressing the new thinking. People are increasingly aware of the fact that we are living in a multifaceted, but integrated and mutually dependent world. This, in turn, requires that world politics should be determined by the priorities of universal human values.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity, and through your journal, once more to extend our cordial gratitude to our Bulgarian friends, who shared the sorrow of Armenia and rendered assistance to us in the difficult hours, according us both moral and material support.

[Cherneva] People also say that foreign policy begins at home. The whole world devotes unabating attention to restructuring in the Soviet Union. Can you describe the experience which made the Soviet people wiser in solving their economic, social, and national problems?

[Sharapov] Restructuring became an inseparable part of the country's life, of every Soviet citizen's life. Today we can already assess the first results of restructuring. In the economic sector the attitude toward the people's basic necessities and the needs of daily life has thoroughly changed. The large-scale programs on housing, health care, education, consumer goods production, and improving services to the population are specially aimed at this goal today. Considerable financial resources are being allocated for the development of villages. Scientific institutions and enterprises working in the defense sector have also joined the production of consumer goods that are in demand.

The transition to full economic cost accounting and the development of various contractual forms and relations based on leasehold interests stimulate the people's interest in the final results of their work, since the their wages are based on these results. All this encourages the workers, peasants, employees, and scientists to abandon their passive attitudes, and it stimulates their interest in the final results of their work.

Restructuring enriched our experience in relations among nationalities within our country. Once more we became aware of the fact that numerous problems have accumulated in this sector. It would be wrong to assume that they are the result of restructuring. Democratization and glasnost only brought them to light. The dark sides of relations among nationalities were accumulated over decades. They were neglected, or concealed for a long time. As you know, a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is in the process of preparing to map out new approaches connected with solutions to the complicated problems of relations among nationalities.

In my opinion, the most important fact is, however, that the entire intellectual atmosphere in Soviet society has changed. People are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the country and socialism, and are getting down to work.

[Cherneva] Viktor Vasiliyevich, before you departed to participate as a delegate in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, you confessed that the voters of Orlovsk Oblast had voted for you in your absence, on the condition that you should work with all your efforts for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which we all cherish. Are you justifying this confidence? Can you tell us which new elements you can detect in the practical experience and the general trends of our centuries-old friendship?

[Sharapov] The friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples is truly our common asset. It continues to develop like a living organism. Every new generation enriches it with new contributions. Thousands of labor collectives, which have been granted extensive economic rights and economic independence, are joining our friendship activities today. It is particularly important that the new forms of cooperation should permit us to increase production necessary for both countries and to provide high quality goods, in addition to this.

We are gratified at the fact that the restructuring process is taking place in Bulgaria, as well. Naturally, it has its own specific features, but as regards its basic orientation, it coincides with restructuring in the USSR. It is an important fact that each of our countries makes its own contribution to the common treasury of socialism. Each of them, in turn, has the possibility of freely borrowing new strength from this common treasury, a strength that enables us to accelerate our progress.

We, who are working at the Soviet Embassy, are trying to do everything within our power, everything possible, to contribute to the development of new forms of production sharing, learn from experience in restructuring, and expand our comprehensive cooperation and joint activities in connection with solving both our domestic and international problems.

[Cherneva] We know that journalism plays a role in your biography. Can you tell us something about the bright and dark sides of this profession, from your point of view?

[Sharapov] I think that it is quite impossible to imagine contemporary civilization without journalism today. It helps the individual become aware of his own existence as part of all mankind. Journalism is a powerful means of information today; it is an instrument for the development of man's world outlook, and hence for the development of society. Through the press, radio, and television, journalism enters every home and accompanies nearly every individual in his daily life. We can all observe how journalism is beginning to claim its rights in the restructuring process. This also is the reason why journalism today is entrusted with special responsibilities.

As for the difficult and complicated aspects of journalism, I would like to remind you how painful it is for a journalist when material he has written with great effort remains unpublished, or when he becomes aware that by adopting some wrong position in his article, he has deceived himself and his readers.

[Cherneva] You seem to have passed on the legacy of journalism? We heard that your son has followed in your footsteps and is a correspondent in China?

[Sharapov] This is a fascination that can hardly be inherited. However, the fact that my son also became a journalist can perhaps be explained by the numerous attractive aspects of this profession. Nevertheless, he also recently changed over to diplomatic work. He was the first to make this step, and I followed.

[Cherneva] As a matter of fact, let us return to your biography. We just came to the end of the war; what happened later?

[Sharapov] I studied. I finished high school in 1949. This was the epoch of the triumphant Chinese revolution and we all enthusiastically believed that if two great states, such as the USSR and China, were to advance along the path of socialism, this would decide the fate of the whole world. I enrolled at the Institute of Eastern Studies.

[Cherneva] And you can read and write in Chinese?

[Sharapov] According to a proverb, learning a foreign language is like rowing a boat against the current—if you stop for a while, the current forces you back. The same happens to me with Chinese. As for my ability to write it, we had better not mention it. It is a very complicated matter, because if you add just one dash to a letter, it completely changes the meaning of the word. Nevertheless, regarding my relations with the Chinese ambassador in Sofia, we understand each other very well.

My son followed in my "Chinese" steps, although mathematics was his favorite subject. He worked as a NOVOSTI correspondent in Beijing. Later, he changed over to diplomatic work, but he always tries to convince me that he has only temporarily "become unfaithful" to journalism. My grandchild is 6 years old and goes to school already, to a Chinese school, as a matter of fact....

But let us speak in chronological order. After I graduated from the institute, I worked in the international department of KRASNAYA ZVEDA. In 1959 I went to China for the first time, because the periodical DRUZHBA was being issued in both Russian and Chinese. Later on, I worked for the radio, and then for PRAVDA. I was sent as PRAVDA correspondent to China from 1961 to 1966. I returned to the Soviet Union at the height of the cultural revolution. I worked at the socialist countries' department until 1971. This was the time of my frequent missions to Vietnam. Following this, I went to work at the CPSU Central Committee. When they proposed that I become Yuriy Andropov's assistant at the KGB, I was first a bit shocked—what kind of a Chekist could I be! However, I worked as a "half-Chekist." Later on, I was Andropov's assistant for the short period during which he was general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I was also fortunate enough to work 3 years with Mikhail Gorbachev. I came to Bulgaria as USSR ambassador in March 1988. This is an independent and very responsible task. In the meantime my son keeps asking: "Why did you become unfaithful to journalism?"

[Cherneva] Finally, what is your New Year's wish, dear colleague?

[Sharapov] As far as I understand the question, the wish should be addressed to journalists. For this reason, I would like briefly to express the following wish: May they loyally serve the cause of restructuring, the cause of truth.

West Europe

Vlasov, Silayev Meet With FRG Official

PM1201101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Important Questions Discussed"]

[Text] On 11 January A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, received R. Jochimsen, minister for the economy, medium enterprises, and technology of North Rhine-Westphalia, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building.

During the talk, which took place in an amicable atmosphere, the West German guest's attention was drawn to the profound transformations taking place in all spheres

of the life of Soviet society. It was noted that the radical transformations in the Soviet Union create a favorable basis for consolidating businesslike multiplane cooperation between our countries.

Questions of bilateral Soviet-West German relations were touched on, including diverse ties between the RSFSR and North Rhine-Westphalia. There was mention of practical steps being taken in the direction of activating mutual scientific and technical, economic, and cultural cooperation. The common opinion was voiced that multiplane contacts between the USSR and the FRG at different levels promote the improvement of mutual understanding between our countries' peoples and the expansion and improvement of mutually advantageous ties in various fields.

On the same day I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received R. Jochimsen with a group of eminent representatives of FRG business circles. There was a discussion of a wide range of questions of the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the FRG on the plane of the implementation of the accords reached during the summit talks in the period of the official visit paid to the USSR by FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl. The mutual desire was expressed to promote the activation of the process of establishing and developing mutually advantageous cooperation at enterprise, association, and firm level.

Kohl Cited on Arms Talks, Vienna Meeting

PM1201141389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dialogue Is Necessary"]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Jan—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl said at a news conference here today that the unilateral reduction in the USSR Armed Forces announced by Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev is a "step in the right direction."

Expressing the conviction that the disarmament and arms control process will continue this year, he advocated that talks on ensuring stability in the conventional arms sphere in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals be initiated most rapidly. The preconditions are better today, the chancellor pointed out, than ever. The talks on a mandate for talks on conventional arms on the European Continent are virtually over and, following the close of the Vienna meeting involving representatives of the CSCE member states, the way to them will be open.

The International Conference on Chemical Weapons held in Paris, the head of the FRG Government indicated, has given an effective boost to the cause of disarmament and arms control.

Pope Welcomes Progress in Disarmament Sphere

PM1101130089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by John Paul II"]

[Text] Rome, 10 Jan—The Holy See expresses profound satisfaction with the process of strengthening detente in East-West relations and welcomes progress in the disarmament sphere.

This was stated by John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, at a New Year meeting with leaders of diplomatic missions accredited to the Vatican.

The desire manifested by both the Warsaw Pact and NATO to embark on resolving the problem of conventional arms reduction in Europe, he said, allows us to hope that talks in this sphere will lead to concrete measures to free the peoples living on the continent of the fear caused by the presence of offensive types of weapons on the continent.

John Paul II pointed to the need to deepen dialogue among the countries of Central America to tackle the problems facing them, and noted the positive significance of the continuing withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the importance of the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, as well as the positive processes taking place in Cambodia, Angola, and Namibia. At the same time he expressed concern over the new exacerbation of tension in the Mediterranean and called for new joint efforts to resolve the Near East problem.

The pope stressed the exceptional nature of the movement of international solidarity with the population of Armenia, which suffered a devastating earthquake. "It only remains to wish," he said, "that this solidarity that people can show across all borders and ideological and political differences in dramatic situations could be the permanent rule in their activity."

1956 Invitation to Queen Recalled

PM1201115789 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Jan 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Burmistenko dispatch: "Curtain of Secrecy Raised"]

[Excerpt] London, January—British legislation provides for the declassification of government documents after a 30-year period. This legislation is not absolute: Intelligence service documents and also other materials that could "damage national security" or the policy of the incumbent government remain closely kept secrets even after 30 years. But nevertheless 1 January every year a large quantity of documents marked "secret" become accessible to the public.

It's now the turn of 1958. The materials made public not only shed light on many 30-year old events but also help us to have a better understanding of the policy of the British Government of the time, which is extremely useful in order to analyze the incumbent government's policy. Here are a few examples.

How N.S. Khrushchev Invited the Queen of Britain

The materials on this are kept in a secret Foreign Office dossier begun in January 1958—1 month after the U.S. press leaked announcements of an invitation for the British queen to visit the Soviet Union. It appears from this dossier's materials that the Foreign Office opposed the royal visit and Foreign Ministry staffers received instructions to categorically deny press reports on this visit.

In fact the invitation was made 2 years previously during the visit of N.S. Khrushchev and N.A. Bulganin to Britain in April 1956. According to Foreign Office documents, "the duke of Edinburgh (Prince Philip, Queen Elizabeth II's husband—A.B.) told Khrushchev at a reception at Windsor that he had 'always wanted to visit Russia.'" The following day in the course of talks with the then prime minister, Anthony Eden, N.S. Khrushchev and N.A. Bulganin gave the queen and the duke of Edinburgh an invitation to visit the Soviet Union.

According to established procedure, the royal family's foreign visits take place on government "recommendation." The documents that have just been made public do not say what precise recommendations were made in 1956, however, according to THE OBSERVER, the Foreign Office reaction was a sharp negative. At any rate, it appears from the published documents that even 2 years later the Foreign Office was still so concerned by this question that it recommended that the new prime minister, Harold Wilson, refuse to visit Moscow on the grounds that this "could lead to the renewal of the queen's invitation."

All the same Prince Philip visited Moscow in 1979—as president of the International Equestrian Federation—but Queen Elizabeth II has never visited the Soviet Union.... [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Central Committee Address Party, Citizens

PM1301120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

["To the Party and the Soviet People: Address by the CPSU Central Committee Adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 10 January 1989"]

[Text] Dear comrades, elections of people's deputies of the USSR will be held in March 1989 in keeping with the decisions passed by the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Congress of People's Deputies will be formed in accordance with the people's will, giving a start to a new system of state organs, laying the basis for the implementation of the political reforms' principal idea: All power to the soviets. This will be a major landmark on the road to the Soviet society's revolutionary renovation.

Looking forward to the elections, the CPSU Central Committee deems it necessary to sum up the first years of restructuring and to submit to the people the key directions of the party's policy for the immediate future.

These years were marked by an abrupt turn in the country's life which has now become a reality, a turn from stagnation in the economy, politics, and the spiritual domain to renaissance, to the emancipation of the sound forces, and to the renovation of the socialist idea itself, which is being rid of outlived dogmas and imparted a new revolutionary Leninist content. This turn was started and headed by the party in April 1985.

A powerful impetus to the renovation process was given by the 27th CPSU Congress. Courageously facing the truth, the party has critically analyzed the situation in the country and drawn up a comprehensive restructuring program, a strategy and tactics for practical actions. The ideas it has advanced expressed the aspirations and hopes of the people. They have received the latter's vigorous support.

There is probably not a single person who has not sensed how the social atmosphere has changed. The people are elevating restructuring, while the latter elevates the people. A frank and interested discussion of the most painful matters and ways of rectifying the situation is going on everywhere. Inertness and social apathy are yielding ground to social activity, initiative, and a daring quest.

Big changes are maturing and unfolding in the economy. Cost-accounting and self-financing, cooperation and leasing, and multiple forms of socialist property are becoming part and parcel of our life. All this promotes the working people's enterprise and gives them a sense of proprietorship. We should not harbor illusions, however. Far from everything mapped out, everything that is necessary has been accomplished. But positive shifts are perfectly obvious. National income and labor productivity figures have improved. The output of food products, commodities, and services is growing. The country's national economy is getting a more distinctive social orientaton. The slide toward a crisis has been halted as a result of all this, and there are signs of an impending upswing.

What is it that guarantees restructuring's success, makes it irreversible? The party is convinced that restructuring can be successful only when man becomes its main element. This requires democratization, promoted by the political reform, which is being carried out at the decision of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The party has started with itself, by defining more clearly its own functions as the society's political vanguard, by raising its sense of responsibility, by self-purification, and by enhancing the Communists' accountability for the observance of party principles and morality. Reorganization of the party apparatus has been completed, and its personnel has been reduced substantially. Fresh forces are joining the leadership.

A renovated Communist Party must function in a revamped society. Such is the logic of restructuring. Ridding itself of current managerial affairs, the party is able to concentrate on topical problems of socialism's theory, domestic and external policy, and political, organizational, and ideological work among the people at large.

Appealing to the minds and feelings of every Soviet citizen, restructuring has brought about an unprecedented upsurge in the people's spiritual life. We are all experiencing restructuring in our lives. We have all become in many ways different from what we were; we regard the past, present, and future in a new way, and we see our goals and ways of achieving them in a different light. The educational system is being reformed, science is squaring its shoulders, and cultural life is becoming richer and more animated. Public reaction to press reports, television, and radio programs has grown noticeably. They have become a broad tribune of glasnost, a multiplicity of views.

The alliance of the working class, peasantry, and intellectuals is being enriched in the course of restructuring, while the influence of public organizations and movements is mounting. The process of democratization is spreading increasingly to national relations within the country; conditions are being created for solving all the problems that have accumulated in this domain. The union of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, bequeathed to us by the October revolution, which meets the fundamental interests of each and of the country as a whole, is acquiring new content. The deep-going changes occurring in the internal life of Soviet society are inseparably linked with the essentially revolutionary changes

in our foreign policy, too. The new political thinking, materialized in practical deeds, has become the basis for solving the most complicated international problems constructively.

Every unprejudiced person can see how, thanks to Soviet initiatives, the world is becoming a safer place to live in and how enmity and suspicion are making way for trust and cooperation.

Experience since April (1985) has shown that restructuring is the only right choice. We do not have another alternative. And we shall follow this path firmly, carry on our creative quest, perseveringly implement our far-reaching plans for change, and expedite movement forward.

Can this path be easy? Certainly not, especially in the beginning. The party is aware that the renewal process is difficult and contradictory and that the expectations raised by restructuring and possessed by society are being met far from fully. Progress in some areas, including the social sphere, is skidding. Reforms that are being undertaken are sometimes blank shots. The party does not absolve itself from responsibility for this. It soberly views the situation and sees everything that is slowing down restructuring. Overcoming difficulties and obstructions, the CPSU is demanding more first of all from itself, from the Communists.

It is not like our people to wait for manna from heaven. During restructuring there should be no fence-sitters, indifferent and uncaring. We can only reach common objectives by common efforts. Restructuring is our destiny, a chance given to us by history, and it may not and must not be passed up.

Presenting its election platform, the party assures all the Soviet people that it will keep marching unswervingly along the restructuring path, devoting all its energies, collective thinking, and collective will to the revolutionary renewal of our society. The party hopes that every one of you will be active in implementing the charted plans.

Comrades electors, the very idea of restructuring was born of and dictated by concern for the individual. The focus of the entire socioeconomic policy of the CPSU is to raise the well-being and to improve the life of Soviet people. The vital needs of the people are close and understandable to the party, and it works persistently for Soviet people to begin to live better already in the coming years.

What is the first priority to us in this respect? First of all, a solution to the most acute issue: the food problem. The party associates it with the rural worker's becoming full master of the land, enjoying full rights, with the restoration of balance between town and countryside, and with social reorganization of rural life. Ways to pursue an up-to-date agrarian policy will be considered by the forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. We expect that measures being taken will make it possible to meet the population's requirements for foodstuffs more quickly.

People wait for a sufficient amount of high-quality industrial goods to appear on sale. The party has set the task of substantially boosting their output. Large funds are allocated for modernizing the light industry. All branches of industry, including defense plants, part of which are being converted for civilian use, will work to meet the immediate needs of the people. Organizations and firms from foreign countries are invited to participate in the effort, and joint ventures are being established to produce quality goods.

The party knows how acute the housing shortage remains in the country and how much it worries many families, particularly young ones. The party will do everything necessary to solve the task that has been set: to provide each family with a self-contained apartment or a house by the year 2000.

By the end of next 5-year plan the number of people moving to new houses every year will grow by 50 percent, and the turnover of new apartments to occupancy will increase up to 3 million. All resources will be used for the purpose: state-run construction, the participation of enterprises, collective and state farms, the development of cooperative and individual house construction, and voluntary work by interested people, particularly young ones.

The well-being of society also means the ensurance of material security in old age. A law on pensions is being prepared. It will serve to create better conditions for those who, after long years of conscientious work, retire on a well-deserved pension. It is planned tangibly to increase the size of pensions, to introduce a single pension scheme for industrial and office workers and collective farmers, and to refine the entire system of the provision of pensions.

The notions of home, family, and children are close and dear to each of us. We consider it necessary to secure that society shows more attention to the family and concern for its strengthening and to raise responsibility for the upbringing of children. Assistance to families with children will increase in scope: Allowances to low-income families will be increased, the duration of paid maternity leave will be extended, and a network of family-type children's homes will be established.

Taking care of the health of Soviet people, the party adopted large-scale decisions on a radical improvement of medical services to the population, and regards the implementation of these decisions as one of its program objectives.

The CPSU shares the Soviet people's concern over the aggravation of the ecological situation, and thoroughly approaches a solution to complex problems arising in this connection. A program is being worked out to protect and make the environment healthier and rationally to utilize natural resources.

An effective economy, as is known, is the foundation of a strong social policy. Our economy begins to get rid of cost-based gross-output approaches, and increasingly turns to meeting people's needs.

All enterprises of production branches switched over to complete cost-accounting and self-financing this month. An adjustment of the economic mechanism is going on. A transition to wholesale trade in capital goods is under way while planning, financing, and lending are being reorganized.

And still, the economy has not yet begun to operate in a new way. People have not yet come to feel fully the results of its restructuring. Much is yet to be done. The party has a clear-cut plan of action: to acclerate scientific and technological progress, to carry out a radical economic reform, and to establish direct dependence of incomes on the efficiency and quality of work.

Consistently following the road of reforms, the party considers it necessary to secure that reliable barriers be put to attempts at using economic instruments in narrow-group and self-serving interests, to the detriment of the population, and at artificially overstating prices and profits, thereby making the working people pay for somebody else' lack of skill or shortcomings.

Both the social policy and the economy will become truly effective only when we launch a resolute drive to eradicate various kinds of nonproduction expenses, losses, misappropriation, the squandering of the people's resources, and unprofitable economic management. Each ruble should be an earned one. Every person and every collective, just as the entire society, should live on earned money. Large-scale measures and progressive reforms should be substantiated by everyone's high responsibility, conscientious discipline, and creative attitude toward work.

The party will do everything for the implementation of an active social pogram—the program for an increase in the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of qualitative renewal and advance of the national economy.

The party will make the maximum of efforts for the Soviet economy to gain dynamism and an innovational character, for scientific and technological progress to become considerably accelerated, and for social production to become more effective.

Comrades, the Soviet social system was born under the slogan of the working people's power. The dramatism of the subsequent development is that the rank-and-file person found himself debarred from the real exercise of political power. Restructuring radically changes such a state of affairs. A radical political reform is aimed at ensuring absolute power of the people. In this respect we strictly follow the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

The election of a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR will open up possibilities for the realization of the next stage of the political reform. The soviets at republican and local levels are to be reorganized and their full sovereignty is to be ensured. This goal will be served by a law on local self-government and self-financing. It is of importance to make the managerial machinery flexible, effective, and accountable to the Soviets and to place it under their control. The democratization of management, social activity, and responsibility of people are reliable guarantees that there will be no reversion to the command-and-administer system.

The revival of the people's power is inseparable from the formation of a state committed to the rule of law. Next priority is a judicial reform, the adoption of laws on young people, the press, freedom of conscience, and laws concerning other major aspects of our life. All this will raise the responsibility of the state to the citizens and of the citizens to the state, and will strengthen the guarantees of the rights of the individual and equality of everyone before the law.

The party shall do everything for the continued extension of socialist democracy, for active participation by every person in public and political life and in administration, and for a triumph of genuine and complete power for the people, of the people, and by the people.

Comrades, restructuring meets the aspirations of all the peoples of our multinational union. The party favors respect for the national interests, distinctive features, and dignity of every nation and ethnic group.

Based on justice and socialist achievements and values, national development is our common concern and common responsibility. It won't make headway if any of us moves in isolation—only for the benefit of his particular republic or people, especially if this is done to the detriment of others. Success is to be found in cooperation, in blending the interests of every ethnic group and of every republic with those of the country as a whole.

Proceeding from the decisions of its 19th national conference, the party works out far-reaching measures to improve and harmonize interethnic relations. The forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will adopt a detailed program for action in this respect in the next few years. The rights of republics will be broadened markedly and their sovereignty strengthened. The party-suggested principle "a strong union is a strong center and strong republics" is being translated into reality through the updated activities of soviets.

Economic accountability will furnish a solid foundation under the republics' independence and mutual responsibilities, and do away with dictates by central agencies. Every republic will have greater possibilities to resolve urgent issues of the economy, the social sphere, culture, the language, and the historical legacy and preservation of nature, which for a people living for ages on its land is its cradle and home rather than simply an ecological environment.

Nobody has to be convinced today that we are strong when we are together. The entire country, every republic and every Soviet family have felt Armenia's grief as their own. And everyone has shared this grief and come to help. The friendship and cooperation of peoples, their cohesion, internationalism, and solidarity are great gains. Let us carefully preserve and augment them.

Everywhere and in everything the party will pursue Lenin's nationalities policy and create conditions for every nation and ethnic group in the Soviet Union to live better and reveal its national identity more fully and strikingly and for our fraternal union to become stronger and richer.

Comrades, the spiritual life of Soviet society is being enriched in the process of restructuring. The public mentality is being unshackled, and the very approaches to shaping it are changing. The leveling off of personalities is being replaced with the bringing out of their abilities and with a competition of minds and talents; feigned unanimity is making way for a broad spectrum of opinions and views complemented with a high standard of discussion, and banking on directives is giving place to broad-based dialogue with people, respect for their opinion, and citizens' involvement in decisionmaking.

The party intends to continue working toward a healthier moral atmosphere and affirming noble feeling, truth, justice, charity, and fraternity. Together we should all rebuff double standards and root out crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other socio-moral ills. The moral cleansing and elevation of society is becoming a cause for all the people.

One of our main cares is the upbringing and education of youth. This is certainly a task not for just one day, and it is the responsibility not of the Komsomol alone. There is a need for an integrated state policy with regard to youth. Its purpose is to help young people find the befitting place in life, realize in the best way their capabilities and calling, and join in the restructuring drive ever more vigorously.

The reform of the secondary and higher school should be carried through. A transition to a qualitatively new type of education, to continuous schooling should be ensured. The school bears the responsibility to society but society, too, is responsible to the school from which its future takes the beginning. Let us jointly consolidate the material base of educational establishments and enhance the social prestige of education and the authority of teacher.

A speedy development of Soviet science, particularly of basic research, enhancement of the real effect of the knowledge of social and natural sciences is on the order of the day. Not a single major decision in politics, economics, management, and ecology should be made without thorough scientific substantiation, the objective expertise of scientists.

The Soviet Communist Party will be supporting to the utmost the fruitful quest in the area of artistic creativity, will be eliminating the use of the "residual principle" in social and cultural construction, and will be enhancing the effectiveness and responsibility of the mass media and their organizing role.

The party considers it its duty to increase the intellectual potential of restructuring, to create the necessary conditions for the molding of a comprehensively developed, socially active personality. The Soviet Communist Party is for consistent assertion of openness, glasnost, lofty humanitarian ideals and the values of socialism in the life of our society.

Dear comrades, nonstandard, innovational approaches to key problems of international life have been found on the basis of new political thinking. The unhealthy and dangerous psychology of confrontation has been opposed with the logic of reason, goodwill, and constructive dialogue. The international tension is relaxing, and the world has become more tranquil and safe. The cold war is retreating. Real prerequisites for mankind ushering in a peaceful period of history are being created.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being implemented. There are good prospects for achieving and agreement between the USSR and the United States on the reduction of strategic offensive arms.

Our decision about a unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments will, undoubtedly, be promoting negotiations on substantial and balanced reduction of these classes of armaments, too. There are grounds to count on a successful conclusion of the talks on the elimination of chemical weapons and the very facilities for their production.

Regional conflicts are being tackled. We are doing all we can for an early settlement to the Afghan problem, for the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal in keeping with the Geneva accords.

Our call for the establishment of new political thinking meets with an ever broader response. To resolve cardinal problems by political means: Such is the Soviet Union's answer to the challenge of the times. The right of might must give way to the force of law, to unconditional respect for the lawful interests of all states.

In the years ahead we intend, in cooperation with socialist countries and with the entire world community, to be pressing for completely overcoming the cold war, asserting peaceful coexistence as the universal principle of international relations, developing harmonious, mutually beneficial ties, and pooling the efforts of all states in the name of the solution of global problems of the 20th century. We shall be striving persistently for a radical improvement of international relations, serious progress in disarmament, and switching military production to peaceful lines. All this is being done without detriment to the country's defenses and security. The Soviet people can be certain of this.

The party gives an assurance that our foreign policy will continue serving to the utmost the main goal—the ensurance of peaceful conditions for the life of the present and succeeding generations of Soviet people.

Dear comrades, dear citizens, the scope and depth of the transformations warrant saying that the party's program of restructuring has become the program of the whole people. It has been proven and supported during candid debates in the whole party and of the whole people. Our course is correct. We reject any attempts to stall our movement, to plunge society back into the abyss of stagnation. We declare just as resolutely against haste, adventurism, and inflated ambition. The wisdom of responsible policy is not to lose a single day of those allotted by history for restructuring and at the same time not to lose touch with reality. Our actions should always be based on a clear awareness of the aims and scope of what is taking place.

No one will solve our problems for ourselves. It is important to realize: By working for restructuring, everybody works for himself, for the prosperity of his family, for the prosperity of our motherland. Restructuring should be defended. Most important, it should be energetically and consistently pushed ahead. Only we ourselves, together, by concerted efforts, can overcome any difficulties and attain the proclaimed goal. To this end we have everything.

We are deeply convinced of the need for radical changes. There is a collective political will to implement them. There is scientific theory and a policy of restructuring, a program of practical actions for all spheres of public life. There are material and spiritual prerequisites for the success of the transformations. There is the Leninist party, which proves in deed the ability to tackle new tasks, to assume the maximum responsiblity at the crucial moments of history. There is, after all, the most important thing—the creative energy of the great people, capable of achieving great accomplishments, which has been aroused and set in motion.

The CPSU Central Committee addresses the working class, peasantry and all working people. All plans of the party are subordinated to the interests of the people. What our life will be tomorrow, what the morrow will bring depends on how we fulfill them. All this is in the hands of the people themselves. Your labor, skill, social activity, and civic stand are the most important guarantees of success. Nominate candidates, support at the election for USSR people's deputies active advocates of the reform, who think and act boldly, in a stateminded manner, with responsibility and on a large scale.

The CPSU Central Committee appeals to the Soviet intelligentsia to rise to the occasion at the crucial time for the motherland. To remember what profound impact your word, your thought will have on people. To selflessly work in the name of progress, to unite people, To raise and defend the values of socialism, humanism, and the culture of relations. To set a personal example of generosity and consolidation.

The CPSU Central Committee appeals to social organizations—trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative organizations, women's councils, associations of labor and war veterans, scientific workers, creative unions of the USSR, other groups—urging them to develop social initiative and civic movement in support of the ideas of restructuring, in the name of the interests of the people and the goals of socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee appeals to the Communists and nonparty members, men and women, veterans and youth, soldiers of the Soviet Army and Navy—all citizens to rally on the party platform.

Let the forthcoming election of USSR people's deputies become a school of democracy, the triumph of people's sovereignty.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Held

PM1301103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held 12 January in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The session examined and approved the plan for basic measures to implement the decisions of the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. The report delivered by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, gave a detailed description of this plan, which encompasses a wide range of priority tasks connected with the implementation of the law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution; the

implementation of the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies and of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on further steps to implement political reform in the sphere of state building; and the holding of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the first session of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium heard a report from Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the progress in implementing the proposals of the chambers' standing commissions and deputies' comments made at the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during the discussion of the drafts of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1989, and the USSR State Budget for 1989. The session noted that the USSR ministries and departments, and the governments of the union republics, have thoroughly examined the proposals and comments of the chamber's standing commissions and of the deputies, and have elaborated and are implementing measures to act on them. Many proposals from the commissions have been reflected in the relevant resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and other documents. Many comments on questions of the socio-economic development of individual regions of the country, the improvement of services to the population, and the normalization of the ecological situation were taken into account.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recommended to the USSR Government that during the implementation of the outlined measures to fulfill the state plan and budget for this year, and in the course of work to intensify the economic reform, it should focus the attention of the organs of state management on mastering economic methods of leadership, on effecting an all-around increase in the initiative and responsibility of enterprises and organizations for the strict observance of contract discipline, on fulfilling state orders promptly and with high quality, and on normalizing fundamentally the country's financial situation through widespread introduction of achievements of science and technology, improvement in the use of all resources, reduction of the prime cost of output, active struggle against losses and thriftlessness, and broad development of new methods of economic management.

The USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers have been set the task, in relying on the new opportunities created by the reform of the political system, of activating work to restructure and increase the efficiency of production, of seeking to accelerate the social reorientation of the economy of sectors and regions, of improving supplies of food and industrial goods to the population, and of further developing the services sphere.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium then discussed the question of the work of the soviets of people's deputies of the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, and Moldavia in connection with preparation for the elections of USSR people's deputies. Reports were heard from V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P. Khabibullayev, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and A.A. Mokanu, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It was noted that in these republics, as throughout the country as a whole, a large amount of work is under way to organize and prepare the elections. Real competition between candidates is entering political life. There has begun to be more democracy in nominating and discussing candidacies. The candidates' qualities, weak sides, and election platforms are being weighed in a businesslike manner. The interests of the broad strata of electors and the specific features of the okrugs are being taken into account more fully and objectively. Right now the election campaign has entered one of its most crucial stages—the nomination of candidates for the posts of people's deputies of the USSR is under way. That is why it is particularly important now to realize in full the democratic potential set forth in the new electoral law and to ensure the nomination of the most authoritative, worthiest candidates capable of moving forward the cause of restructuring and leading it to qualitatively new heights.

A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion defining the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies connected with the launching of the election campaign.

In connection with requests which have come in regarding the possibility of combining the status of people's deputy of the USSR with the position of chairman of the council of ministers of a union republic, who ex officio belongs to the USSR Government, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium provided an interpretation of Article 11 of the USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, recognizing that it is possible to elect chairmen of union republic councils of ministers as USSR people's deputies. The Presidium decree on this question is being published.

Following a report from Yu.N.. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union, there was a discussion of the question of the USSR Supreme Soviet's international ties in the past year, and the main avenues for development in 1989 of international ties with the country's supreme organ of power were approved.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question connected with the situation which has taken shape in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, and heard a report on this from A.-R. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Taking into account the proposals of the party and state organs of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of

Nationalities, and with a view to preventing the further aggravtion of interethnic relations and stabilizing the situation in this region, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, deemed it expedient to temporarily introduce in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast a special form of administration, while retaining Nagorno-Karabakh's status as an autonomous oblast within the Azerbaijan SSR. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on this question will be published in the press.

The Presidium also examined several other questions of state life.

Decree on Union Republic Premiers Published

PM1301105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Application of Article 11 of the USSR Law 'On Elections of USSR People's Deputies'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In connection with queries which have come in regarding the possibility of combining the status of people's deputy of the USSR with the post of chairman of the council of ministers of a union republic, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

Considering that, under the USSR Constitution, people belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers and the union and autonomous republics' councils of ministers, cannot, except for the chairmen of these organs, be deputies in the soviet which appoints or elects them and inasmuch as the chairmen of the union republics' councils of ministers are not appointed directly by the USSR Supreme Soviet but belong ex officio to the USSR Council of Ministers, it should be interpreted that the restrictions stipulated by article 11 of the 1 December 1988 USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" do not extend to these officials and they can be USSR people's deputies.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

Moscow, Kremlin, 12 January 1989

Correction to Science, Culture Meeting

The following correction pertains to the item subheaded "Debate, Gorbachev Closing Remarks" under the headline "Meeting of Science, Culture Figures Held 6 Jan," published in the 9 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 64, column 2: sourceline reads: LD0801104589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2356 GMT 7 Jan 89 (correcting sourceline) subslug reads: [Report on debate following Gorbachev address and Mikhail Gorbachev's closing remarks at a meeting of scientists and cultural figures held on 6 January at the CPSU Central Committee headquarters in Moscow] (correcting subslug) TASS text reads:

[Text] Scientific and cultural figures who took part in the meeting spoke.

The USSR Academy of Sciences President Guriy Marchuk reported, in particular, that recently about 150 directors out of 250 have been elected democratically. A hundred new editors-in-chief of journals have taken up their duties. He noted that formerly the social sciences had been relegated to second place and sociologists had been assigned the role of commentators. The worst thing is that no younger generation has been trained.

The writer Boris Oleynik described the meeting as very timely. It is necessary to join together in putting an end to "shop-floor" squabbles, because there are so many problems in the state that it is no good occupying oneself and expending time, energy, and paper on slaking one's personal ambitions. He touched on interethnic relations. In the Ukraine, he said, these problems have been constructively channelled, though there are some "freak formations" [vybrosy prodoy]. In principle, however, everyone knows that it is only within the fraternal community that each republic is guaranteed its existence as a state; some, indeed, only received that status thanks to Soviet power.

Sergey Mikhalkov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union, said that restructuring demands the consolidation of all forces of society, including those engaged in literature. Yet, in the speaker's opinion, not all of those in charge of magazines and newspapers understand this.

Restructuring in the Baltic region, said the poet Yanis Peters, has become for its peoples what the Great October Socialist Revolution was for those republics. It is not for nothing that it is being said among us that a revival of faith in socialism is now taking place in the Baltic. The speaker said it is desirable, in his view, that the central newspapers assess more objectively the processes of democratization of public life in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The writer Ales Adamovich emphasized that the whole line of restructuring, which is being determined from above, is following the Leninist route. He expresed concern that in some places, especially in the provinces, in the republics and oblasts, social initiative is again being restricted. He mentioned the emergence of the "Memorial" public fund. A good decision of the CPSU Central Committee has just been published, said the writer. It states that there will be more than one monument, and not only in Moscow. It is very important that the Commissions of Deputies concern themselves with this. But I think no Commission of Deputies will replace

the one boy who collected tens of thousands of documents relating to the cases of persons who were subjected to repression. All the neglected graves must be put in order.

The OGONEK editor-in-chief Vitaliy Korotich dealt with questions of raising the standard of discussion and consolidating the forces of the creative intelligentsia. It seems to me, said the speaker, that a very interesting process is already being defined and is in progress. By degrees, little by little, a new trust in Soviet power is ripening and taking shape among the people. Our huge successes in the international arena are plain to see. The people are becoming more active, to the alarm of some of the bosses. I think one has a duty to stop skirmishing over trivalities, he said.

In the opinion of MOLDAYA GVARDIYA editor-in-chief Anatoliy Ivanov, certain Soviet publications such as OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the Latvian magazine PODNIK and others, are at times propagandizing petit-bourgeois views. It is necessary to found alternative publications to rebuff such attitudes. Such possibilities must be created.

There always has been an ideological struggle and always will be. We need glasnost, democracy, and restructuring as we need air. That is obvious. But it is also obvious that we ought here and there to move the nuances and transpose the accents; otherwise, under cover of glasnost, democracy, and the word "perestroyka" one may be fighting for aims which are the opposite of these concepts...

The poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko noted that great power chauvinism and at the same time all petty, selfish nationalisms which, under the guise of affirming independence, cancel out the positive contribution of the Russian people to world history, relate equally to low social and political culture and to a low level of understanding of dignity.

Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics, said the main thing is to give people a life that is worthy of them, decent working conditions, and opportunities to develop their intellect. But whereas the aims and theory of restructuring and the correctness of that political course are clear, the tactics, approaches, and methods of tackling economic tasks are sometimes worrisome. Unfortunately, the effects can be felt of elements of the "campaign" approach and of looking for simple solutions—some sort of magic wand or single means capable of solving everything. We fought for brigade contract, now we're fighting for lease. No one denies that this is one of the most progressive forms. But why turn it into a campaign? Different forms may become established in the Baltic and Central Asia. Is it wrong to measure them all by the same yardstick?

DRUGZHBA NARODOV editor-in-chief Sergey Baruzdin, speaking of the problems of interethnic relations, expressed the opinion that they demand immediate solution since many of them are extremely acute.

To me the most precious things, said Academician Nataly Bekhtereva, director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' Institute of Experimental Medicine, are my family, my science, and now our restructuring, my restructuring. Swords are clashing over the question of Stalin. What attitude should we take to this figure? Stalin was certainly a criminal, and we should treat him as a criminal.

Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' United States and Canada Institute, said one of the important areas of restructuring is foreign policy. Here, accumulations of quantitative changes have taken place which in the last half-year, and especially perhaps in the last few months, have begun to become qualitative. People abroad have now begun to understand that what has begun and is being done in the Soviet Union is a global phenomenon, on which depends the future of all mankind.

ZNAMYA editor-in-chief Grigoriy Baklanov devoted his speech to a number of economic and moral problems of restructuring. In particular, he expressed the viewpoint that it is not just by chance that there is a shortage of several types of goods and produce in our shops. People say it's due to resistance to restructuring. This is, I think, a serious matter. Now, the speaker continued, these two years are extremely important. Two years in which to get some improvement in the shops.

I am one of the members of the committee concerned with creating a memorial to the victims of Stalinist repression, said Mikhail Ulyanov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Theatrical Union. Already, 600,000 rubles and quite a lot of foreign currency have been collected. I have read that the Ministry of Culture will now build the memorial. That's fine. But why not make use of the money that the people have collected for the building of a monument, a memorial, an archive, a museum?

In effect, our whole life now is restructuring, said NOVYY MIR editor-in-chief Sergey Zalygin. When open aggressive pressure is brought to bear against restructuring, there's nothing at all to fear. That strengthens us. The clumsy and compromising defense of restructuring is a different matter. One must not try to defend the truth by false means. It demands means which are as true as itself. Yet, in defending it, we often compromise it.

We cannot live without internationalism, said the writer Grachya Ovanesyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Writers' Union. We must abolish all the causes that create enmity between races, wherever it may be.

On behalf of the Armenian people, he said, I want to express our gratitude to you personally, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, to the whole membership of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and to the writers and organizations that have given us unprecedented moral and material succour in our harsh and tragic hour of trial.

On restructuring in the interethnic sphere, the speaker referred to Lenin's dream of a federation in which small and large ethnic formations would be equal members.

Restructuring in Armenia, said the speaker, has been accepted by the people. Restructuring is for us what long-awaited rain is to the parched earth.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said:

I think we have had a big and important discussion. The Central Committee and the Politburo need the machinery for consultation of this kind. Meetings with the most prominent representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia must be held regularly. Not everyone has had a chance to speak today. I hope those comrades will not feel offended. If anyone would like to convey to us what he wanted to say, both I and all the other comrades in the leadership are at your disposal.

I am happy with the atmosphere in which the meeting has taken place. I don't think anyone could argue, after such a discussion, that restructuring is not happening in our country or that it has already exhausted itself. Restructuring is already part of us. Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin put it well: "If someone were to pull out of us all that is connected with restructuring, I don't know what would be left—a shell." We have heard much from each other that is useful and important. That is in itself an achievement, comrades.

I think you all shared the concern I spoke of with regard to the new stage of restructuring. We must go forward in all areas of restructuring. Only thus can we count on success. One would like to hope that everyone has understood that we need to consolidate. Not at any price, no, but on the path of adherence to the policy of restructuring, on the basis of our socialist values: in order to move restructuring, to lay great stress now on creative work, on support for all that which we are achieving with such difficulty in all spheres—in the economy, in the political process, in intellectual life.

By exchanging opinions, discussing and comparing, we must enrich that process. On no account must we think that one group of people hold the truth in their hands, while others are people who are raising the flag of false values.

I have noticed that all the same, many of those who have spoken have stuck pretty precisely to their own "corner," their "sector". Doubtless they were afraid that afterwards, when they gather in their own circle to discuss the results, someone might suspect that someone has yielded ground to someone else. Yet this, of course, is not compromise, comrades, but mutual understanding. Mutual understanding, of which we are all so much in need today. In all the speeches, including the extreme ones, there has been a well-founded concern. But concern cannot be combined with distrust, with ill-will. We must strive to free ourselves of that. I fully share that opinion, which has been expressed here more than once.

There is a popular saying: We are also tired of malice, and moreover malice expounded by a master of the word! It has a bite to it, you know. It can be heard throughout the land. Where is the talent going, to what is it being applied? [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 8 January, Second Edition, pages 1-3, 4, in a similar report on Gorbachev's remarks deletes the phrase "to what is it being applied?"] Whither are we directing our word? The word is a commander in battle. In an educated country, that is a great thing!

Today there is a new atmosphere in society. It was so that the role of the intelligentsia should be an active one that we have created this atmosphere of glasnost, openness—a creative, constructive atmosphere in which all that is salutary may find support. Without giving way on the positions of restructuring, without giving way on the things we have gained, we must resolutely cut off all that is hindering us; we must stop being hardened and embittered.

Let us think about this part of our discussion. I think we are all alarmed. But, when all's said and done, we are responsible people. We value the wise word and listen to it. Let us be responsible!

It can be observed that there is understanding in what matters most. We are anxious for our country, for its renewal, for the people, anxious to move our restructuring forward. Today we have a very great opportunity! But we mustn't fall into panic, pessimism, despondency. Difficulties are natural at such steep and critical turning points.

We must live in society and work, work actively, renewing our life. We are all participating in restructuring—some more, some less. People are different—each has his own character, his own will, various degrees of tact, resoluteness. All that is connected with the human being can't be left out of account. But now that we have set out on our great march, do let us find points of contact, display respectfulness. Let there be more argumentation in our disputes. After all, we are indeed fortunate, as I see it, in being part of such a great undertaking. However difficult the problems, however pressing, despite all the things that confront us—the most unexpected issues, vicissitudes, moral and physical strains, it can be said

that this is a great time, and we absolutely must endure all, endure, without losing sight of our values and without losing sight of our landmarks.

There are those who under pressure of the affairs of the moment fall into recommendations which are poorly thought out and ill-considered. We must not be in too much of a hurry, comrades—especially your circle of people, whose word is very much listened to.

We count on cooperation, on understanding, on mutual understanding. We are open to you, and as far as we are able, we try to examine promptly and competently the questions that come from our scientific and artistic intelligentsia. That is how it has been, and that is how it will be. Thank you for taking part in this meeting. All the best! (supplying TASS International Service in Russian version of report)

Central Electoral Commission Meets 12 Jan

LD1201205289 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The election campaign is gaining momentum as nomination of candidates for people's deputies proceeds at enterprises and establishments. This was noted at today's meeting of the Central Commission on Election of USSR People's Deputies. At the same time attention was drawn to the need to use wider the possibility of nominating candidates for people's deputies at voters' meetings at their places of residence, a possibility which was offered by the new legislation.

The commission focused on district election commissions, the basic link which does most of the work involved in carrying out the election. The following figure, cited at the meeting, underlines their mass nature: Some 180,000 people will work at district commissions on a voluntary basis.

The election of people's deputies in territorial and national-territorial districts is scheduled to be held on March 26. It will open at 7 a.m. and end at 8 p.m. local time. One of the members of the commission, actress Irina Miroshnichenko, proposed to create duty polling stations in large cities which will work from 6 a.m. till midnight. The proposal was accepted.

During the election a total of 2,250 seats in the supreme body of state power are to be filled. A third of them will be elected by mass organisations, a novelty which has no precedents in the world practice. Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the Central Election Commission and member of the CPSU Central Committee, said on Thursday that various mass organisations held 12 plenary meetings to nominate 112 candidates for 79 seats. On January 10 the CPSU Central Committee met for its plenum which nominated 100 candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Lukyanov Attends Meeting

LD1201231688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission on the election of USSR people's deputies was held today in the October Hall of Moscow's House of Unions. A report was heard concerning the composition of constituency electoral commissions as well as the commissions on elections of candidates from public organizations, in which over 23,000 representatives of labor collectives and the public will work. Approval was given to the text of a letter to polling-station electoral commissions, containing recommendations on the preparation and conduct of the elections. It devotes particular attention to ensuring glasnost in the work and assisting candidate deputies and authorized persons. In the view of the Central Electoral Commission, the soviets and the constituency electoral commissions are still making poor use of the right to nominate candidates at meetings of voters by place of residence. Comrade Lukyanov took part in the work of the commission.

Veterans Submit Amendments to Election Platform

LD1201215889 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The campaign for the nomination of candidates to USSR people's deputies for the elections to be held on March 26 is the consequence of perestroyka processes, democratisation of Soviet society, reform of the political system. A more democratic character and initiative of citizens are characteristic of the present election campaign.

A plenum of the All-Union Council of War Veterans and Veteran Workers was held here today. Perestroyka has offered them the right to be represented in the supreme body of state authority. War veterans and veteran workers will hold 75 mandates at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. They will represent 58 million pensioners and will be deciding matters of countrywide importance.

The participants in the plenum submitted a large number of amendments to the draft election platform proposed to them by the presidium of the all-Union organization of veterans. They, specifically, suggested that a permanent commission for the affairs of war veterans and veteran workers be formed at the supreme body of state authority. The participants in the plenum ensured equitable representation of all regions of the country, broad representation of workers, collective farmers, representatives of the intelligentsia on the candidates' list. As many as 96 candidates were discussed. 76 people were nominated.

A meeting of the All-Union Council of Collective Farms to nominate candidates from nearly 18 million collective farmers was held today.

Police Block Leaflets Backing Korotich

AU1301085789 Paris AFP in English 2217 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 12 (AFP)—Police moved in to prevent the distribution in Moscow on Thursday evening of leaflets backing a notable supporter of perestroyka (restructuring), Vitaliy Korotich, the editor-in-chief of the weekly review OGONEK.

Mr. Korotich has been a target for attacks by conservative elements.

The leaflets hit out at the Russian anti-Semite movement Pamyat. Some 40 members of the movement disrupted a meeting Monday at which Mr. Korotich was to be proposed as a candidate to the new Congress of People's Deputies, due to be elected on March 26.

OGONEK workers and activists from various informal groups had organised the meeting under a new electoral law, which for the first time allows a meeting of at least 500 residents of a constituency to put forward a candidate by majority vote.

This quorum was not reached by Monday's meeting because of the Pamyat militants, who stood outside the hall where the meeting was being held and told people it had been postponed.

By shouting and pushing around Mr. Korotich, they then prevented the 370 people who did enter the hall from holding their meeting, while the police failed to intervene, the leaflets said.

The leaflets were snapped up eagerly by about 100 passers-by before the police prevented any further distribution, telling the 10 or so people giving them out that it was "inappropriate to stir up feelings". Two of them were detained for about an hour.

Mr. Korotich himself left for the United States on Thursday and is not due back until just before the last date by which election candidates can be designated. However, according to one of his supporters, his presence is not obligatory and he has agreed to be nominated by a new meeting.

Last year Mr. Korotich came under fire from Soviet number two Yegor Ligachev, the leading Kremlin conservative, who denounced "editors of certain papers who think they can get away with anything" because they enjoy the backing of Mr. Gorbachev.

Caller Claims To Plant Bomb on Airliner

LD1201191289 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Leningrad January 12 TASS—A man who refused to name himself called to the traffic controls of Leningrad's Pulkovo Airport to say that a bomb was planted in an airliner that was to make a flight to a Caucasian resort yesterday evening.

All the services of the airport were immediately alerted and the airliner and its luggage compartment were most thoroughly checked. The search of the anonymous caller was conducted at the same time. On the basis of a tape recording, militia personnel managed to identify the caller. He was detained. His name has become known today. He is Aidulaziz Abdullayev, a 24-year-old cooperator.

It was established that the telephone call was made to the airport to amuse a drinking party. In such cases Soviet law envisages criminal responsibility and a restoration by a culprit of material damage to the injured party, the Soviet Aeroflot airliners in this case. Preliminary estimates show that this will be a quite considerable sum.

Armenian Atomic Energy Station To Shut Down

LD1301111789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Excerpts] The USSR Council of Ministers has decided to close down the Armenian AES and subsequently to have it converted. [passage omitted] The first set will cease to operate on 25 February; the second set will cease to operate on 15 March. It cannot be done earlier, because during the winter peak power demand, the atomic electric power station's capacity simply cannot be replaced by anything else. Mels Avetikovich Akopyan, head of the Control Service of the Main Production Administration of Power and Electrification of the Armenian SSR, has been asked how the republic will make up for the shortage of electric power after mid-March:

[Begin Akopyan recording] According to our calculations, over the next 2 years, with the remaining electric power stations at its disposal—I have in mind the Razdan GRES, Yerevan Tets, and hydroelectric power stations—the Armenian power system is capable of fully satisfying the national economy's electricity demand. The fact that electricity must be saved—that is to say, it must be used sensibly—in all areas, both in the national economy and here and in agriculture—should, naturally, be borne in mind.

Therefore, these 2 years will be the most difficult ones for us, in the sense that it is only towards the end of 1990 that we plan to commission a 300 mw set at Razdan Gres. This will partly make up for the shortage of electricity caused by the Armenian AES sets ceasing to operate.

After the Razdan Gres sets have been made operational—four sets with the capacity of 300 mw each—the question of converting Armenian AES to nonnuclear fuel, mainly natural gas as the main type of fuel and organic fuel oil as a standby fuel, will be examined. This is stated in the decision. [end recording]

*Armenian Power Plant '100-Percent Safe'

WA1822002689 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 88 p 6

[Article by special correspondent N. Domekovskiy: "Calm at the Nuclear Power Station"]

[Text] The immense smokestack to the southeast is clearly visible these transparent December days as soon as you get to the outskirts of Yerevan. Every inhabitant of the republic unmistakably knows what it is—the Armenian Nuclear Power Station.

In the early days, these puffs, which are like a column of smoke, instilled real fear in many people. Had there been an accident at the AES? But then it all cleared up. This was not smoke, but steam. The hot air forms immense streams of steam.

The plant was not damaged in the earthquake. A few days ago, I put a question to Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who heads the group of specialists:

"How are things at the station?"

"Everything is normal," Yevgeniy Pavlovich answered. "The AES is alive and operating. But we have been working on technological questions concerning its future.

"We need to remember in this connection that the country's leadership took a decision to close the power plant out of respect for public opinion. Moreover, this is to be done in 1.5 or 2 years. But now the power it generates is covering the lion's share of Armenia's electricity needs and is supplying neighboring republics.

"Is there a danger or even the likelihood of an accident caused by earthquakes? I think this question can be answered unambiguously: There is no danger. As the specialists have explained it to me, there are two reasons for this. First is the very construction of both 440,000-kw power generating units, each of which is designed to take the highest physical loads. In addition, the power plant is built on a stone ledge, a geological structure that is like rock that has been cast in place.

"The shock wave passed through the 'body' of the AES without causing deformations. Nevertheless, all necessary steps have been taken, and they were moreover intensified."

...We are driving out of the city of Oktemberyan. A turn to the right and immense structures somehow resembling children's blocks are revealed to the eye. Over the entire 13 km during the drive to the power plant, they grow steadily larger and larger.

The first thing that strikes one is the large number of red-and-white trucks. These are reinforced pieces of fire-fighting equipment.

In a large room with telephones, radios, and apparatus, we talked with the young-looking officer.

"Major Khachatryan Vachagan Simonovich," he introduced himself, "chief of the power plant's fire department. As soon as the earthquake occurred, we went on alert. Additional pieces of fire-fighting equipment have been set up. We now have 70 men on duty at all times. We dare not leave anything to chance. Plans have been worked out for dealing with accidents of all kinds; all possible variants have been calculated. The personnel are constantly working out their own actions; we will not allow disasters."

Yesterday in Yerevan, Colonel Robert Sokhakovich Tatevosyan, responsible official of the ArSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, told me that in addition to the extra pieces of fire-fighting equipment at the power plant, fire departments in all surrounding settlements are also on call at any moment. They are ready to answer the alarm at any second.

We walked over the entire power plant. We talked with the firefighters and the operating personnel. They told me about Lieutenant General Mukeyev, chief of the Main Fire-Fighting Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, coming to the plant. Anatoliy Kuzmich directed the efforts of firefighters at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant from the first day of the accident. His advice made it possible to organize the service more efficiently.

In short, I am convinced that the safety of the nuclear power plant is 100-percent guaranteed.

...There was light in the windows of the surviving apartments of the damaged cities. The electric power workers rushed to Leninakan, the booms of the tower cranes went into operation, traffic lights are working at intersections. The Armenian AES is working for the rebirth.

TASS Carries Roundup of News on Armenia

LD1301072489 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 13 Jan 89

["News of Soviet Armenia"—TASS headline]

[Excerpt] Yerevan January 13 TASS—Follows news of Soviet Armenia:

Documentary About Armenian Earthquake

The chronicle of the tragic days of the Armenian earthquake—from the first hours to the current restoration works—is given in a documentary of Armenian filmmakers to be screened in the Soviet Union soon.

"The film not only gives the idea of the scope of the disaster, but also shows how people in the Soviet Union and around the world responded to Armenia's tragedy," Ruben Gevorkyants, the "Armenfilm" studios' artistic director, told TASS.

He said that since all the enormous material filmed in the disaster areas could not go in one documentary, a full-length film "the Apocalypse" would be made together with the Moscow studios of documentary films.

American Congressmen in Soviet Armenia

A group of American congressmen has visited some of Armenia's disaster areas these days. They met with officials of Armenian ministries and departments to discuss the most promising areas of future cooperation, such as the creation of a joint centre to study and predict earthquakes, for instance.

The sides stressed the need to continue supplies of warm clothes and caravans to the disaster areas and considered the possibility of building a caravan-making plant in Armenia with U.S. assistance.

The American congressmen were headed by Tony Coelho, deputy Democratic majority leader of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress.

Armenian Community in Lebanon helps Soviet Armenia

Despite its difficult life in Lebanon, the local Armenian community has already donated more than one million American dollars to help quake-victims in Soviet Armenia. "We will continue raising donations all through 1989," Grigor Safaryan, a prominent public figure from Beirut, told TASS. He arrived in Yerevan last Wednesday on a plane which also brought nine doctors and engineers (of Armenian origin), as well as medicines, medical equipment and other priorities. They will work in the disaster areas for some time.

Evacuated Armenian Children Resume Classes

Armenian schoolchildren evacuated to the Soviet Black Sea city of Sochi have resumed classes at schools opened at the holiday hotels and health centres where they live with their parents.

Textbooks, literature, teaching aids and films in the Armenian language have been sent from Yerevan to the children whose language of instruction was Armenian. All the teachers have voluntarily come to Sochi from various Armenian cities.

Kindergartens are being opened for children of preschool age.

About 10,000 Armenian children have been brought to Soviet Black Sea resorts from the quake-stricken areas. They are having the attention and care of the local authorities and people.

In Memory of the Dead Kids

An exhibition of drawings of children killed in the Armenian earthquake has opened at the republican centre of aesthetic education of children and adolescents in Yerevan. [passage omitted]

Baku Commandant Reports 'No Change' in City

NC1201155889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] There was no change in the situation in the city yesterday. No violations of law were recorded.

A total of 135 individuals were detained, of which 115 were detained for violating curfew hours and another 9 were detained in acccordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree dated 23 February 1988. Furthermore, I would like to make it known that, in line with the inclusion of the Apsheronskiy Rayon within the framework of the Baku City Special District as of 11 January 1989, I am authorizing the owners of private vehicles in [name indistinct], Dzhorat, Uzbek, [name indistinct], (?Udzha), (?Zheyranbatan), Kubal, (?Neftcheabad), Mamedli, [two names indistinct], Saray, [name indistinct], and Kyrdalan towns to enter the city.

The rules that apply for entering the city are the same as those which were outlined in the information that was published in the local press on 20 December 1988.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Tyagunov Addresses Farewell Message to Baku

NC1301090189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1000 GMT 12 Jan 89

["Appeal" by Colonel General Tyagunov, to the people of the Baku City Special District, issued 11 January]

[Text] Dear comrades and residents of Baku: I read your letters for the last time this evening, made the necessary decisions, and conveyed those which included requests to the appropriate officials. Your letters will receive replies in due course.

I wish to make it known that while discharging my duties as military commandant of the Baku City Special District from 20 November 1988 to 11 January 1989 I

shared your grief, and I also felt happy, even if this was on a limited scale. I became acquainted with the simple people who are the representatives of the various peoples in Azerbaijan. I met with many (?refugees) and helped them as much as I could. Of course, it was impossible to help them as much as I would have liked. But you can rest assured that I am sincere toward all the simple people and I convey my respects to them.

I wish to assure you that the members of the special committee of the military units of the special district are wholeheartedly prepared to safeguard the life, honor, and dignity of each and every Soviet individual, in accordance with the laws, and that they will continue to carry out their duties efficiently in that regard in the future. I express deep gratitude to each and every one of them.

I hope that you will remember me. One is not infomed about an oncoming sickness beforehand. This can happen to anyone.

I wish to thank you, the residents of Baku, particularly the workers, employees, students, and veterans, for the contribution you have made towqard the restoration of public law and order in the city. I express gratitude to the local party and soviet organs, mass media organs, and all those who performed efficiently and consientiously to ensure normal living conditions for their compatriots.

Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, who is the new commandant of the Baku City Special District, has worked with me. He is fully acquainted with the work. You can rest assured that he wishes to do everything that is required for your well-being.

I thank you once again and send you my best wishes.

[Signed] Colonel General Taygunov, 11 January 1989

Azerbaijan Central Committee Plenum Held 30 Dec

PM1201151789 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 31 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] An Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 30 December 1988. The following issues were examined:

1. On candidacies from the Azerbaijan Communist Party for nomination as candidate people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU.

2. On Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

3. An organizational question.

After discussing 87 candidacies nominated by primary party organizations and supported at plenums and party aktivs of party gorkoms and raykoms, the Central Committee plenum unanimously adopted a decision to recommend the following from the Azerbaijan Communist Party for nomination as candidate people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU: M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P.A. Azizbekova, director of the Azerbaijan History Museum and full member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; and G.R. Ibragimov, drill operator of the "Neftyanyye Kamni" Maritime Drilling Work Administration of the "Kaspmorneftegaz" Production Association's Oil and Gas Extraction Administration Named for the 22d CPSU Congress.

The plenum approved the personnel composition of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee commissions in the main areas of the republic's socioeconomic and sociopolitical life. The resolution on this issue is published in the press.

An organizational question was examined at the plenum.

In connection with their reassignment the plenum released M.S. Mamedov, F.E. Musayev, and L.Kh. Rasulova from their duties as members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Sh.M. Aliyev and N.E. Mustafayev from their duties as candidate members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum approved the following as chiefs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments formed in connection with the reorganization of the party apparatus: V.A. Guseynov of the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department; R.A. Aliyev of the Ideological Department; Z.A. Samed-Zade of the Socioeconomic Department; and A.F. Dashdamirov of the State Law Department.

T.R. Nagiyev was approved as administrator of affairs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum approved D.A. Alibekov as editor of the newspaper KOMMUNIST and K.N. Ragimov as editor of the journal AZARBAYJAN KOMMUNISTI—KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA.

The plenum also examined the question of S.M. Guseynov, I.A. Mamedov, and R.E. Mekhtiyev, members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

R.V. Akhundov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Party Commission, delivered the report on this question.

It was pointed out that at meetings of labor collectives, in articles in both the central and the republic and local press, at numerous meetings with working people, at

report and election party meetings, and at rayon, city, and oblast party conferences people raised in pointed terms the question of why those who bear personal responsibility for gross distortions in cadre policy still remain members of the republic party organization's leading organ.

It was pointed out that Communists S.M. Guseynov, I.A. Mamedov, and R.E. Mekhtiyev lost the moral right to be members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee because of serious violations in selecting and placing cadres of party, soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs, which led to an unhealthy moral atmosphere, mass figure padding, and backwardness in developing the republic's economy.

Speaking in the discussion were I.A. Mamedov, individual pensioner; R.E. Mekhtiyev, chief of a department of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Scientific Information Center; S.M. Guseynov, chief of a department of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; D.A. Melikov, own correspondent of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA; A.M. Golubev, second secretary of Baku party gorkom; B.A. Rzayev, chairman of the Republic Revolutionary Glory Council; S.M. Khalilova, fitter at the "Bakelektroavtomat" Plant; R.V. Mirzoyev, first secretary of Shaumyanovskiy (rural) party raykom; A.A. Kerimov, first secretary of Bardinskiy party raykom; V.A. Guseynov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department; A.M. Alyyev, first secretary of Agdzhabedinskiy party raykom; M.A. Guseynov, first secretary of Mir-Bashirskiy party raykom; M.R. Mamedov, first secretary of Baku party gorkom; and V.P. Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

By a secret ballot the plenum expelled S.M. Guseynov, I.A. Mamedov, and R.E. Mekhtiyev from the Central Committee.

The plenum's participants honored the memory of the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and representatives of other nationalities who tragically died during the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

The text of the joint appeal of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Councils of Ministers to citizens who have left their places of permanent residence was approved.

The plenum was addressed by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Procuracy Official on Armenia, Azerbaijan

LD1301034589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1850 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Interview with Viktor Ivanovich Ilyukhin, first deputy head of the Main Investigation Directorate of the USSR Procuracy, by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] For several months now we have been following with alarm and pain the events taking place in the Transcaucasus. True, following the tragic earthquake in Armenia, we have been speaking less of this lately, but this by no means signifies that the problems have disappeared. The workers of the law-enforcement bodies have their own view of these processes. Here is a report by our special corespondent, Sergey Omelchenko.

[Omelchenko] The working rhythm in Baku has been fully restored, and all industrial enterprises, consumer services, establishments, and educational institutions are functioning. There are fine peacemaking words, but nevertheless there still are signs of the special situation in the streets and squares of the capital of Azerbaijan: armored equipment, military patrols, and a curfew. Strict control is being maintained on entry into the republic's towns. The situation has improved markedly, but nevertheless the situation cannot be called normal at the present time. There is a somewhat uneasy feeling.

I had a meeting today with Viktor Ivanovich Ilyukhin, first deputy head of the Main Investigation Directorate of the USSR Procuracy.

Viktor Ivanovich, what is your assessment of the existing situation in Azerbaijan?

[Ilyukhin] You are quite right in saying that the existing situation in the city of Baku, and in Azerbaijan as a whole, cannot be assessed unequivocally. Outwardly, of course, everything is calm. I think that, thanks to the measures taken both by party and local soviet bodies and through the efforts of the military and law-enforcement bodies and the introduction of the curfew, due public order has been established successfully, and success has been achieved in insuring the safe existence of persons and citizens. I would even say the following: that lately we have begun to record fewer crimes, that is, normal criminally punishable ones, but at the same time one may say boldly that the situation is complex.

We still have not studied deeply those internal processes and currents that led to such mass demonstrations, both in Lenin Square and later, after the rallies in Lenin Square were halted. It still is not thoroughly clear to us what forces were directing the actions of those attending the rallies and the groups that sometimes committed outrages—that is to say, what forces were controlling and organizing them and what stood behind those persons who were demonstrating in the square and making appeals.

[Omelchenko] Viktor Ivanovich, how, then, is the work of the law-enforcement bodies being organized at the present time?

[Ilyukhin] I would say that the work of the law- enforcement bodies is being carried out not only in Azerbaijan—that is to say: This mass work and organized work with the involvement of large forces. A vast amount of work is being carried out 9in parallel in both Azerbaijan and Armenia at present. I inform you that considerable forces of investigatory cadres and operational forces of internal affairs bodies have been sent to the latter republic too. we are pursuing several goals in this regard, especially in Azerbaijan.

Our first aim is to establish genuine public order and create normal condiions for the lives of citizens, but if one speaks more closely about our own specifics and work, we want to solve three problems. As you know, pogroms have occurred in Azerbaijan and also in the territory of Armenia. I would go further and say that in general, and most regrettably blood is being shed. We now are faced with the tremendous task of investigating all these pogroms, crimes, and acts of vandalism. We must uncover them as soon as possible, expose the culprits, and start court proceedings against them. This is the first line of work on which we are engaged here.

The second line of work, which I consider to be no less important and which is connected with the first line, is nevertheless to expose precisely those brain centers that organized these clashes. I think that the brain centers have remained precisely and outwardly aside and in the darkness. Most regrettably, ordinary people and citizens have suffered as a result of their well-organized, and I would say, sometimes purposeful work. After all, remember the hundreds of thousands of refugees on both sides. This is a great tragedy for the two peoples. People have lost the roofs over their heads; they have lost their work. Many schoolchildren have stopped going to school and students have stopped going to educational establishments. we are setting ourselves the goal of finding out what pushed them, who was organizing it, and who provoked these actions. We are setting ourselves this goal in order not to allow a similar thing to happen in the future and in order to guard the people from such calamities.

The third line of our work, which I consider to be the main one, is linked with the first two. We are setting ourselves the goal of sorting out the shadow economy. Let me say bluntly that Azerbaijan is not a good area from the viewpoint of the safe keeping of socialist property, and—I am not frightened to employ the term—also from the viewpont of widespread bribery and falsified figures.

The last 2 years have shown us that the incidence of these negative phenomena is very high indeed here. I think that by solving this task we will, at the same time, be solving the first two problems. We are confident of this, and we do have data on this. We now are attempting to confirm through our investigations and to embody in trial documents the fact that to a certain extent it was precisely to the advantage of these corrupted clans—the people of the shadow economy and those engaged in extortion and the systematic violation of the law—to provoke these actions by the popular masses.

I would say that recently the process of achieving a healthier state of affairs has indeed begun in the republic. There has been a change of leadership, the party leadership, in the party Central Committee, and there have been changes in the leadership of a number of raykoms. There has been a change in the leadership of local soviet bodies. The process of purging the law enforcement bodies has begun. The law-enforcement bodies—although I am making great claims—have not proved themselves to be up to the complex situation. The purging processes have begun with them, too. They have begun to function more energetically. This is shown by those criminal cases that have been sent to court over the past 2 years, cases connected with falsified figures, bribery and embezzlement.

Obviously, certain people already have realized that the exposures inevitably will be completed. They found a way out by causing a diversion from these exposures. The way out was to give rise, to put it simply, sometimes to artificial problems and to cause conflict among various groups in one republic, and as if it was not enough to cause conflict among the groups in one republic, they embarked on causing conflict between the peoples of two fraternal republics. To some extent they succeeded. Instead of really being engaged in investigating embezzlement and bribery, we were forced to spend vast amounts of energy and time investigating the pogroms and killings that most regrettably occurred here. to a certain extent, this was successful in diverting attention. This is how I would explain what has happened here in this republic.

[Omelchenko] Viktor Ivanovich, when we speak of the situation in the Transcaucasus we have on the tip of our tongues such expressions as the shadow economy and the corrupt clans, but who are these corrupt elements and what kind of phenomenon is this shadow economy?

[Ilyukhin] Of course, if one is speaking of the rallies in Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Square here in Baku, those assembled were addressed most frequently by such leaders as (Panakhu Agetami), but I am deeply sure that more serious forces were behind them. At present we are instituting criminal proceedings against (Panakhu Agetami). As for the corrupt elements and clans, I may cite just one name: (Monucharov). The press has written about him already. He is one of the former leaders of the Krunk movement, but now it can be stated that it has been established that he engaged in systematic extortion and bribery. He has been arrested and criminal proceedings are being instituted against him, even though his outward activities have been an attempt, allegedly, to

resolve the Karabakh problem. It was with this slogan that he addressed the public. This was attractive to the people, but in actual fact his essence and his true face is that of an inveterate briber and profit- seeker. It is, of course, very early as yet to speak of all the clans or of specific persons. The investigation has only just begun. Much still has to be clarified. However, I think all of these things, or at least most of them, will be established, and in time we will be able to give specific names and to say who indeed was behind the leaders of the crowd, both in Baku's Lenin Square and, I would say, in Armenia, as well.

[Omelchenko] To say who the instigators were?

[Ilyukhin] Yes, and to say to whose advantage was this stirring up of the people, this disturbed situation, and this conflict between nationalities.

We have an accumulation of work that will require not just a single day or week, but months, perhaps. However, we will continue, in spite of the complexities and difficulties we are encountering here.

Armenian Media 'Exacerbated' Problems
PM1201141089 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 p 4

[E. Elyashev report under the rubric "According to the Newspapers": "A Time To Heal and To Build Up"]

[Text] Yerevan—Even today, a month on, the wind ruffles the black and red flags over Yerevan. The mourning banners hang from balconies and windows, signposts of disaster—along the whole long, snowy road to a city that now exists only on the map. Its name is now known throughout the world, it is repeated in every language: Spitak, Spitak, Spitak...

I was in that disappeared city on the 12th day after the earthquake. I saw cross-sections of apartment blocks, like the scenery for some nightmarish show. A coffee table out on the street, holding a television set, a one-legged doll, and a broken vase. Washing hanging on the lines, because there is no one to take it in...

Before this, I had seen Chernobyl and the abandoned villages of the Gomel region. I had seen field hospitals in Afghanistan and a hospital in Kabul full of maimed children. But I left Spitak in a state of shock. I have not yet recovered. What can I say about the local inhabitants? An elderly Armenian, a counterintelligence agent in the war years, said to me without embarrassment:

"Nowadays I cry very often..."

I realize that with these details, terrible as they are, I am not saying anything new. But it is impossible to write about Armenia today and ignore the earthquake. Too many problems became focused on it, it stirred up too many things.

If they publish an official record of the earthquake, I am sure it will include items from the "Information Bulletin" that began to come out in Yerevan in the most difficult days. Its pages are a real chronicle of grief and pain. A very difficult task fell to the lot of the republic's journalists. That of bringing people the truth. Refuting the most improbable rumors, like, for instance, the one about the volcano or the nuclear bomb supposedly exploded under Leninakan to distract the Armenian people from the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. And how they only spared Yerevan because they were afraid on account of the proximity of the nuclear power station. Let us call things by their names. These are not rumors, they are political gangsterism which had to be nipped in the bud.

The newspaper KOMSOMOLETS gave a principled assessment of such political subversion: "...What has happened in the streets of Yerevan in recent days can only be called a challenge to the people's grief." The newspaper unmasked those people who want "demonstrations, when every minute is precious for saving human life. Noisy talk, when it is customary to maintain silence over a grave."

On the day of the disaster ARMENPRESS reported: "In the last 24 hours (5-6 December), despite perceptible internal tension, the situation in the republic has been gradually returning to normal. The Armenian SSR MVD has recorded no occurrences affecting the general situation. The republic's national economic complex is running smoothly. Health, trade, consumer service, and transportation facilities are operating normally. Studies are resuming in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and general educational schools..."

These lines inspired hope. People were tired of the exhausting strikes and demonstrations, rallies and speeches, which were becoming increasingly intolerable from month to month. People simply wanted to work normally at last. Then came the disaster. The earthquake divided Armenia's time into "before" and "after." It highlighted the heights of selflessness and heroism and the depths of moral degeneracy in people.

I would like to quote two items published in the local press. One was about a certain A. Babayan, who was sentenced to 5 years. While dragging bodies out from under the ruins, he was removing their gold possessions. And this is the other. KOMMUNIST for 30 December printed an article by K. Akopyan, "Facing the Elements." It describes, in particular, certain actions by the "Karabakh" Committee. "How many lives were not saved because of this irresponsibility, what was the cost of the actions of the 'committee' people who detained for 3 days in Idzhevan an international column which was on its way to the disaster area from the Azerbaijan SSR. How can they now look in the face their compatriots who have lost loved ones who might have been saved?"

For all the dissimilarity between these cases, they do have something in common: looting. One was a case of criminal looting—a louse wanted to get rich from the disaster by pilfering gold; the other was a case of political looting, the desire to earn from the same disaster a reputation as uncompromising national heroes.

In recent weeks items published in the republican newspapers have become markedly more constructive. The routine statements by workers in the plants' in-house newspapers which assert impassively that striking is a bad thing and that the enterprise is losing such-and-such an amount (publications like MASIS, KIROVETS, and AVTODOGAGORTS) are receding into the background.

Certain articles in central republican newspapers, whether or not their authors intended it, directly promoted the exacerbation of the interethnic problem. But in the last days before the New Year a number of serious, detailed items appeared in the newspapers, giving a principled, party assessment of events over Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and at last stating openly and passionately where the artificial kindling of interethnic strife leads. There is a long editorial article, "Hour of Disaster and Hour of Responsibility," in KOMSOMOLETS, and the aforementioned article by K. Akopyan in KOMMUNIST. The author writes: "In this situation the deeds and actions of people who, instead of joining the ranks of the hundreds of thousands, entered into a struggle for their own political ambitions, cheap prestige, and the right to call themselves the sole true champions of the nation, have evoked a strange, incomprehensible response in people's hearts."

Three days before the New Year KOMMUNIST published a facsimile of an anonymous ultimatum letter, the text of which is like a bad dream. I will quote it in full:

"Ultimatum!

"We demand the immediate release of the leaders of the 'Karabakh' Committee and all political prisoners arrested in recent days. We are giving you 24 hours to consider. Otherwise we will resort to mass terrorism. We will not indicate the time and place of action. We have 'Stingers' supplied by our friends.

"[Signed] The 'Andronik' terrorist detachment

"The ultimatum begins at 2100 hours local time on 22 December 1988. We await a response by radio or television."

I do not know about "Stingers," but they do have grenades, and in large numbers. The detailed commentary on the "ultimatum" includes a photograph of about 50 lethal shells, and it is emphasized that this is only a part of what was confiscated.

"So what is all this," the newspaper asks, "childish pranks, or reality? For understandable reasons, no more can yet be said on this subject. But the time will come when everything will fall into place and people will learn the whole truth."

...There are still bodies lying beneath the ruins. Widows are still falling on coffins. Men are still crying. The wind is still ruffling the black and red flags over Armenian cities. And in these days filled with grief, there are people who are prepared to shed new blood.

A certain wise book says: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: ...a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up..."

Now is the time to heal and to build up.

Ukrainian Central Committee on Ethnic Issues

AU1201153389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text]In conformity with its work schedule, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the issue of the progress made in implementing its previous decision "On measures to implement in the republic the directives of the 27th party congress and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum in the sphere of ethnic relations, and to intensify the internationalist and patriotic education of the population." This was preceded by a broad discussion in party organizations, labor collectives, the press, radio, and television on problems concerning interethnic relations. Account was taken of the opinions of scientists and specialists in the sphere of public, higher, and secondary special education, and culture. Many interesting proposals were made by members of creative unions, journalists, and representatives of some spontaneously created associations.

The text of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decision is published below.

On the Progress Made in Implementing the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Decision "On Measures To Implement in the Republic the Directives of the 27th Party Congress in the Sphere of Ethnic Relations, and To Intensify the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of the Population"

1. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee notes that, guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress and by the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the November (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the republic's party committees had increased attention to perfecting interethnic relations and the patriotic and internationalist education of the population. The measures provided for in the

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decision on these questions are being implemented. The main efforts are aimed at creating within people a responsibility for successfully accomplishing the tasks set by the party with the aim of restructuring all spheres of life in our multinational socialist state. The notion of problem-free relations among socialist nations and nationalities, and the nihilist approach to national achievements are being overcome and, under conditions of democratization and glasnost, experience is being accumulated in defending internationalist values. The forms and methods of patriotic and internationalist education are being perfected. The mass media are exerting an appreciable influence on the shaping of people's national and internationalist sentiments.

Public initiative has increased, the working people are boldly raising and openly discussing sore problems. Party committees are developing a calm and well-considered dialogue, and cooperating with all forces, based on the positions of socialism, proletarian internationalism, and of restructuring Soviet society. Measures are being taken to settle acute problems that might complicate the situation, particularly in the sphere of national culture and language.

Conditions are being provided for a harmonious, natural development of native-Russian bilingualism, and for the active use of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of sociopolitical, public, and cultural life. In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, laws are being drafted to guarantee and regulate the use of the Ukrainian, Russian, and other languages used by the republic's population. In the past 2 years, 200 Ukrainian-language schools and 130 kindergartens have opened. Significantly more time has been assigned to teaching national languages and literature at schools. There are more opportunities to dub films in Ukrainian. A republic-level association has been organized to produce video films and video programs. The issuing of books, serial publications, and reference materials on interethnic relations has increased. A republic-level cultural and enlightening center, the "Druzhba," and a bookstore specialized in the publications of fraternal peoples have opened in Kiev. A contribution toward the internationalist and patriotic education of the population is being made by the preparations for the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko. The study of the Russian language, a well-tried means of interethnic communication, is improving.

The measures in the Central Committee decision designed to meet the basic needs of other ethnic groups are being implemented. These groups are represented in elected leading bodies. More than 450 optional groups have been created at schools and higher educational institutions to learn the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, modern Greek, Crimean Tatar, and Gagauz languages. Crimean Tatar-Russian, Bulgarian-Ukrainian, and Czech-Ukrainian dictionaries have been published. Radio broadcasting in Bulgarian has begun in three rayons in Odessa Oblast, and in modern Greek in six rayons in Donetsk Oblast. There are now regular broadcasts in Moldavian and Hungarian in five rayons in the Chernovtsy and Transcarpathian oblasts. Bulgarian-language pages are being published in three rayon papers in Odessa Oblast. Preparations have begun for publishing a Crimean Tatar-language newspaper. About 2,000 new ethnic amateur art teams have been formed. A Polish cultural and enlightening society has opened under the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. A Jewish Culture Society has been founded in Kiev.

Attempts by nationalist-minded political extremists to sow interethnic dissention, to artificially aggravate the nationality problem, and to impose on the working people their point of view which goes against internationalist ideology and the principles of socialism has been rebuffed. Opposition to subversive actions has been increased by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist, Zionist, and clerical centers abroad who profiteer on problems involving ethnic relations and who endeavor to foment hostility among our country's peoples.

At the same time, from the positions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the November (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is perfectly obvious that the pace, scales, and quality of the work done have not fully met the prerequisites of restructuring, of socialist renewal, of further perfecting interethnic relations, and of promoting the process of democratization.

The qualitative changes taking place in interethnic relations are being analyzed here and there without enough depth, and without taking into account the dynamics of the new processes. Some party committees are slow in settling immediate problems, and have taken a formal approach to the adopted decisions. The number of working people's letters calling attention to the violations of the principle of native-Russian bilingualism in sociopolitical measures, office work, visual agitation, announcements, and information has not declined. Ideological cadres, who sometimes lack initiative, skills, abilities, and work habits under the conditions of socialist pluralism, are irresolute toward extremists, and respond inadequately to acute events in public life. Obsolete stereotypes are being discarded too slowly, and some leading party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol functionaries still have not eliminated complacency. In many cases, discussions and sessions still prevail over everyday practical work. The formulation of questions about the rational utilization of natural resources, the development of national culture and language is sometimes being farmed out to small groups or persons who parasitize on democracy and use it for their ignoble purposes. Some party members join such groups, but their party organizations fail to properly assess these cases.

In controversial questions, editorial boards of newspapers and journals, and radio and television do not always assume and defend clear and principled positions. The

mass media occasionally publish items that are not well thought out, that are professionally substandard, and that distort the truth of history, and of public and political events. Insufficient consideration has been given to history, traditions, culture, and the lives of fraternal peoples, to experience in patriotic and internationalist education, and to the processes of developing and mutually enriching national cultures.

The measures taken by the republic's soviets of people's deputies and ministries of public and of higher and secondary special education to raise the level of teaching and the standard of learning the Ukrainian language at children's preschool establishments and at secondary and higher schools still cannot be considered good enough. The explanations given by parents are inadequate. The network of Ukrainian-language kindergartens is expanding too slowly. In Voroshilovgrad Oblast they make up only 13 percent of the total, which clearly does not correspond to the percentage of the population that speaks Ukrainian. In the Crimean Oblast such kindergartens do not exist at all. New Ukrainian-language schools have not been opened in Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Nikolayev, Sumy, and Kharkov. There are delays in preparing and issuing Ukrainian-language visual aids, films, video cassettes, records, tapes, and methodological publications for teaching purposes. At the same time, the effort to expand the sphere of applied Ukrainian language is in some cases being used as an excuse for administering things in a bureaucratic way and for violation of the rights of the parents to freely choose the language in which their children are to be taught.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education has failed to increase the number of courses read in Ukrainian at higher educational institutions that offer conditions suitable for this purpose. Action has not be taken to prepare Ukrainian-language textbooks for special subjects taught at technical schools and institutions of higher education. Specialists in ethnography and folklore are not being trained.

Not all citizens permanently resident in the republic have been provided with appropriate conditions to learn the Ukrainian language. Dictionaries, phrase books, and records are in short supply. The "Vyshcha Shkola," the "Naukova Dumka," the "Zdorovya," the "Tekhnika," and the "Budivelnyk" publishing houses issue too few special publications in the Ukrainian language.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Culture has failed to ensure that the measures set forth in the Central Committee decisions are properly implemented. The republic's film studios produce too few Ukrainian-language feature films. The proportion of Ukrainian-language films in the present film resources amounts to only 7 percent of the total, and even they are not actually being shown. Some Ukrainian-language musical and drama theaters continue to violate the status of the language.

Comprehensive cultural and enlightenment programs have not been compiled for ethnic groups that live concentrated together in the Ukrainian SSR. Not all history and local lore museums have reviewed their exhibits in order to enrich them with exhibits that show past and present life. Amateur ethnographical teams are short of plays in their repertoires. There are too few cultural and enlightenment workers to service the nonnative population.

Institutes within the social sciences section of the republic's Academy of Sciences still have not given priority to the study of Ukrainian culture and the cultures of other ethnic groups that live in the republic. The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education have failed to launch large-scale sociological research into the state of and trends in interethnic relations. Scientific subunits studying these problems are numerically small, and their material base is inadequate. Modern printing, copying, and multiplying equipment is in short supply. The interdepartmental scientific council for problems concerning ethnic relations, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian, socialist internationalism is sluggish in developing its activity.

The errors committed in enhancing the cultivation of interethnic contacts in everyday life have become more conspicuous in the light of democratization and glasnost.

2. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee calls the attention of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, the soviets of people's deputies, the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Public Education, of Higher and Secondary Special Education, and of Culture, the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences to the fact that more effective measures are needed to eliminate the shortcomings noted. It calls on them to make a profound and systematic analysis of the processes taking place in multinational labor collectives, among the intelligentsia and young people, and to forecast possible changes in their moods and situations. It calls on them to work purposefully to settle problems in the field of interethnic relations, particularly problems involving the social sphere, national culture and language, and the rational utilization of nature. It calls on them to cooperate with the Ukrainian Culture Fund in advertising the treasures of folk songs, in reviving progressive folk customs and ceremonies, and in engaging the younger generation in local lore and ethnography. Taking into account the multinational composition of the population, more efforts are to be made to create an atmosphere in which citizens of any nationality can feel at home in the republic.

In relying on the authority of party organizations, on the strength of persuasion and of effective legislation, it is essential to resist more vehemently the manifestations of both national nihilism and national narrow-mindedness and selfishness, the attempts to direct sound national sentiments into the nationalist channel, and to use

democracy for purposes that go against democracy and restructuring. It is essential to resolutely rebuff the attempts of antisocial and nationalist elements to discredit our internationalist achievements.

Preparations for the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenums on the problems of perfecting interethnic relations are to be regarded as an immediate task for all party committees and organizations and for every Communist. This work is to be based on the political directives of the 19th all-union party conference, and on the recommendations set forth in the CPSU Central Committee decision "On preparations for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 'On Perfecting Interethnic Relations in the USSR.'"

3. Party, administrative, and public organizations are expected to increase the personal responsibility of leaders, ideological aktivists, and all Communists in complying with the principles of the Leninist nationality policy, and proletarian, socialist internationalism in their everyday activity; for the stable development of interethnic relations in labor collectives; to strengthen the internationalist unity of the Soviet people; and to rally and consolidate sound forces for the constructive work to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. They are expected to vigorously defend the party policy with regard to the nationality problem, to mix with the working people, to speak to them frankly, and to intensify their explanatory work; and to raise the level of training of leading cadres and aktivists in the theory and practice of interethnic relations and in internationalist and patriotic education to a qualitatively new level.

CPSU members and candidate members who do not discharge their statutory obligations to consistently carry to the masses the ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, the ideas of fighting manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, national narrow-mindedness and selfishness, and of chauvinism are to be brought to account before their party organizations in line with the CPSU statutes.

4. The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, as well as the editorial boards of newspapers and journals, are expected to broadly elucidate materials concerning interethnic relations, the economic and spiritual life in the union republics, and the practice of settling the nationality problem in the first years after the October Revolution. Leading Communists and members of editorial boards should pay particular attention to the need to prepare more conscientiously the materials concerning nationality problems, and to create a spiritual atmosphere that is propitious for strengthening internationalist unity, friendship, and brotherhood among the Soviet peoples.

The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade must work out a long-term plan for issuing and reprinting publications on a wide range of problems concerning interethnic relations, and the best works by Ukrainian writers, scientists, and cultural figures.

5. In the first 6 months of 1989 the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Culture and the Academy of Sciences must complete the elaboration of an integral concept for developing Ukrainian national culture, and a long-term program for culture and enlightenment for individual ethnic groups of the population, and must take appropriate measures to provide the programs with cadres and materials.

6. It is essential to continue the constant endeavors to make the republic's population master the Russian language as a means of promoting interethnic communication, and to widen their access to the achievements of science, technology, and Soviet and world culture; to ensure that higher educational institutions train highly qualified teachers of Russian language and literature, and to have more probationary work in the RSFSR, in order to enhance the Russian language culture, to make better use of the mass media, to expand the network of optional groups and circles, and to organize olympiads, competitions, and theme soirees.

7. A plan has has been approved for the work to expand the sphere of use of the Ukrainian language, and to further develop harmonious native-Russian bilingualism.

In the field of public education, the plan in particular calls for an analysis of the network of teaching and educational establishments in order to open or restore additional native-language schools and children's preschool establishments in oblast and rayon centers, as well as in large industrial cities. The plan calls for the introduction of Ukrainian language classes in kindergartens as of the schoolyear 1989-90 and, as of 1990-91, in Russian-language schools, from the first grade, and for the gradual introduction into Russian-language schools, teacher-training colleges, and vocational-technical schools of the practice of dividing classes and groups numbering more than 25 pupils into two subgroups to study the Ukrainian (or some other native) language and literature, as soon as the necessary cadre and material conditions are available. In vocational-technical schools and technical colleges, the plan calls for the creation of conditions for the gradual introduction of teaching a number of special and general-education subjects in Ukrainian, and for resumption of the study of Ukrainian language and literature in the preparatory departments of some higher educational institutions. In the republic's higher educational institutions, the plan calls for an expansion in the teaching of special subjects in Ukrainian, while ensuring that the Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism develops harmoniously; and the plan calls for the creation of conditions whereby students can freely select the language in which they are to be taught.

General-education, vocational-technical, and special secondary schools have been advised to introduce courses on Ukrainian SSR history and geography as independent subjects; as of the 1990-91 schoolyear, Ukrainian-language schools are expected to introduce the teaching of the literature of Soviet peoples and of foreign literature within the Ukrainian literature course; at Ukrainian-language educational establishments, the course of data processing has to be gradually changed over to Ukrainian; and appropriate textbooks and programs are to be compiled for computers. Provisions have also been made to prepare and publish textbooks and teaching aids. Libraries at educational establishments are to be provided with the necessary amount of educational publications in national languages. Plans have been drawn up to increase book publication in the "Shkilna Biblioteka" series, and to begin, as of 1990, the publication of the "Biblioteka Ukrainskoho Slovesnyka" series.

Measures have been taken to provide cadres for teaching the Ukrainian language. For this purpose, the training of teachers will be expanded in proportion to needs. Optional groups, courses, and circles will be created at higher educational institutions, special secondary schools, and general education schools, as well as at houses of culture to study the history, culture, and languages of the republic's peoples. A competition is to be announced for a textbook for independent study of the Ukrainian language.

In the sphere of culture, provisions have been made to put in order the language status of theaters in 1989; to fill state orders for socially important plays, shows, and motion pictures; to organize systematic competitions for the best Ukrainian-language plays and films; to produce film versions of more classic works; to shoot and dub films in Ukrainian; to step up the propaganda of folklore and literary works among the readers, particularly those of the younger generation; and to increase the duration of the republic's television broadcasting and film shows in Ukrainian. The mass media are expected to elucidate the national cultures and languages, and widely advertise the best examples of them. It has been found expedient to back the proposals to form societies of admirers of native languages, to organize folklore shows and competitions, and to form amateur folk art teams, kobza [Ukrainian folk instrument] music schools, and so forth.

In the field of science, plans have been drawn up to study the practical pursuit of the Leninist nationality policy in the Ukraine in the first years after the October Revolution and in the twenties, to reprint for mass circulation V.I. Lenin's works and collections of CPSU documents on proletarian internationalism, Soviet patriotism, and interethnic relations; to periodically poll public opinion on problems concerning the functioning and development of the Ukrainian and Russian languages and cultures, as well as of the languages and cultures belonging to other ethnic groups living in the republic; to expand scientific research in the republic into ethnography and folklore; to study the needs for specialists in this sphere and, in line with these needs, to organize their training at Kiev and Lvov universities; and to work out a long-term plan for preparing and issuing new, as well as reprinting existing philological-style dictionaries.

In holding sociopolitical events, in official contacts, and in office work the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has instructed party, state, trade union, and Komsomol organizations to use for guidance the principle of native-Russian bilingualism. This principle also has to be observed in information, announcements, and advertisements in transport, consumer, communications, and public catering services.

End to Crimean Atomic Energy Project Demanded

PM1201154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

["Independent Commission's Opinion on 'Crimea and AES' Problem" signed by Academician A. Yanshin; V. Osipov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Doctors of Geographical Sciences N. Glazovskiy and S. Yevteyev; Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Lemeshev; Doctors of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences A. Nikonov, G. Reysner, and V. Trifonov; Candidate of Geographical Sciences I. Shabdurasulov; and Doctor of Physicomathematical Sciences N. Shebalin: "Expert Report"]

[Text] BACKGROUND. More than 2 million people now live in the Crimea. Even more come here to receive treatment or vacation. You might think that valuable cultural leisure ought to be the leading industry here. But energy-intensive and environmentally harmful production units still exist here.

Because of them, and to meet the Crimea's energy needs then, though mostly its projected future needs, the construction of the Crimean AES was started in 1980. It was begun on the shore of the Azov Sea on the Kerch Peninsula—one of the Crimea's best potential spa locales. The first stage of the AES, costing around R1 billion, envisages the construction of two 1-gigawatt power units. Construction workers have now assimilated half this sum and are planning to commission the first unit by the end of the current year.

Everything followed customary procedure until the Chernobyl accident. That made many people think about the need for and safety of AES's in various parts of the country. Large numbers of letters and telegrams expressing concern over the environmental safety of the Crimean AES, particularly the seismic aspect, were sent to directive organs and the 19th party conference (and also to PRAVDA—Editor's Note). It was noted, in particular, that the potential seismicity of the AES site exceeds the force 7 earthquake which the station is designed to withstand.

A government commission chaired by Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was charged with resolving these doubts. Four specialized working groups, which included the country's leading specialists on the issues in question, were set up within the commission. Their decision was to be discussed and approved at a session of the most competent organization in questions of seismicity—the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Interdepartmental Council on Seismology and Earthquake-Resistant Construction.

RESULTS OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERT REPORT. The scientific experts considered that earthquakes similar to those that occurred here before (and traces of force 9 earthquakes were discovered by the scientists) could recur within the zone where the Crimean AES is located. The likelihood of such a powerful earthquake in the next few decades is small, of course, but it cannot be ignored when constructing such a crucial and potentially dangerous installation as a nuclear power station.

The Interdepartmental Council Bureau session held 20 September supported by a decisive majority (16 out of 20) the working groups' conclusion. This decision aroused fierce opposition from USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation specialists. They put forward a dissenting opinion which rejected the validity and highly important results of the expert report. The scientific experts came under direct pressure from senior staffers at the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation. The government commission was forced to prescribe broader discussion. That discussion confirmed the aforementioned assessment and the Interdepartmental Council Bureau recommended it as normative for the AES construction workers.

The scientific experts drew attention to another geological danger to the station: It is located in the immediate vicinity of a subterranean dome in whose core high pressure is developing, which could lead to deformations of the earth's surface and to mud and gas volcanism. As the conference decision noted, "their direct influence on the AES structures could exceed the anticipated seismic influences in terms of destructive consequences."

On 28 November the government commission, after discussing the scientists' final opinion, accepted the estimate of force 9 as the maximum potential earthquake for the Crimean AES site and also noted the danger connected with mud volcanism.

As readers will obviously have noticed, the examination of the socioeconomic and environmental aspects of the construction and operation of the Crimean AES did not form part of the government commission's task. It should not be forgotten, however, that the problem of this AES, as of the Crimea as a whole, is multifaceted. The USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of the Biosphere sent a letter to F. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, devoted to other aspects of the situation prevailing in the Crimea. It says:

"No detailed study of environmental and economic alternatives for the Crimea's energy supply, specifically using the power industry-grade (noncoking and shallow-lying) coals of the Western part of the Donetsk Basin, constructing additional gas pipelines from the 'mainland' gas system, or accelerating development of nontraditional power-generating facilities, has in fact been carried out to date. The projected cost of AES construction does not include the cost of natural resources removed from potential economic use or the cost of the whole nuclear power cycle, including the burial of the reactor units after the end of their period of operation.

"Back in 1987 the USSR Academy of Sciences drew up a conclusion on the draft USSR Council of Ministers resolution banning new construction and the expansion of existing industrial enterprises in the Crimean Oblast, which was eventually adopted in September 1988. The document stresses the inadvisability of the existence, let alone the development, of a number of chemical production units on the Crimea's western shore, and again raises the question of their transfer or conversion (previous similar decisions by the USSR Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers were not carried out). The inadvisability of further developing the Kamysh-Burunskiy combine and the need to close it before the year 2000 are also recognized.

"Carrying out these decisions will rid the Crimea of the most energy-intensive industrial enterprises, which were the main reason why the Crimean AES was planned. If merely two of its power units are constructed almost half the station's planned capacity will disappear to the 'mainland.' Is there any need for the Crimea to function as power-supplier in the light of its unique recreational and agricultural potential?"

WHAT NEXT? And so the expert scientists and the government commission which relied on their opinion accepted an assessment of the seismicity of the Crimean AES whereby the station's construction is not permitted. The injudiciousness of erecting it from the ecological and socioeconomic viewpoints was confirmed by specialists in problems of the biosphere from the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council. Perhaps this was the first time scientists had displayed such firm resolve in such a situation. The last word now goes to the USSR Council of Ministers, which is to decide the fate of this construction project initiated without the necessary scientific feasibility study.

The matter would seem to be clear. But we know of many examples in the past where departments, keeping quiet or distorting scientists' opinions, sought to continue construction. That is why we deemed it necessary to inform the government and public of the experts' conclusion regarding the Crimean AES, taken despite

departmental pressure. At the same time the expert report taught us a lot and made it possible to raise a number of general questions.

Not being specialist power engineers, we do not believe we have the right to submit a categorical judgment about the development of this sector. But from the viewpoint of the science of the earth we would like to draw special attention to the territorial aspects of the development of the country's power complex.

One-sided obsession with and the forced development of any one subsector of the power complex (hydraulic power stations in the past, AES's now) leads to major ecological and socioeconomic errors and negative consequences, and also to the slowing down of the pace of scientific and technical progress in developing energy-saving technologies, in seeking effective ways of using nontraditional energy sources, including ecologically safe sources like solar, wind, and geothermal energy, and the low-grade energy from the expanses of the sea, and in introducing ecologically safe and economically acceptable systems for drainage and gas purification in the sector.

The practice used to this day for elaborating feasibility studies and coordinating and approving projects through the efforts of the controlling, planning, and scientific research organizations subordinated to or associated with the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, and the lack of timely and objective information about the decisions which are adopted, make them insufficiently substantiated and in a number of cases simply wrong. Extradepartmental expert assessment is most frequently carried out at the demand of independent specialists and the public at the stage of the project's active construction or its completion, when large capital investments have been assimilated. Therefore the significance of this assessment is as a rule ephemeral, and if it does lead to significant decisions their implementation, as in the case of the Crimean AES, is extremely painful.

Now, in the era of restructuring, scientists are increasingly frequently producing a serious analysis of the country's social, economic, and ecological problems and are trying to reflect more objectively the present state of nature and society. There is a strengthening hope that V.I. Vernadskiy's ideas of the noosphere—the sensible organization of society and mutual relations between man and nature—will exert growing influence on our country's development.

The expert report on the seismic danger to the Crimean AES was a new form of organization of scientists' labor. This means of resolving important but entirely specific national economic tasks is an effective one, and may in the future become a way of making practical use of the potential of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VUZ's. Specialists from academy institutes are already taking part in expert reports on a number of projects. We think this practice should be financially and legally legitimized and developed in close cooperation with various public movements and organizations. But the main thing is that the mutual relations between the experts and the subjects of their reports should be turned "upside down." It is not the scientists who should persuade the departments (in this case the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation) of the erroneousness of a decision, and the departments' activity should not be planned or implemented without a preliminary independent scientific expert report.

In our view, a single expert organ independent of departments (best of all under the USSR Academy of Sciences) should exist in the country, and should unite specialists in various aspects of the use of nature. The construction not only of AES's but also of other large-scale national economic projects posing an increased risk to the environment should not be undertaken without the conclusion of this organ. This would ensure the possibility of an in-depth and all-around analysis of various situations, and the objectivity and independence of experts' opinions on the issues in question.

Latvian Party Plenum Proceedings Reported

PM1301112589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 6 Jan 89 p 1

[LATINFORM "Information Report: Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 5 January.

A report on progress in carrying out the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and topical tasks of the republic party organization in speeding up restructuring at the present stage was delivered by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

The following took part in the debate on the report: A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga party gorkom; V.P. Varnas, first secretary of the Balvskiy party raykom; R.P. Volyatovskaya, knitwear worker at Riga's "Latviya" Production Association; A.Ye. Vasilenok, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA; V.P. Samsons, chief scientific secretary of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences; L.N. Vantsans, tractor driver at Aluksnenskiy Rayon's "Maliyena" Kolkhoz; K.I. Nyuksha, tool maker at the "Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitelniy Zavod" Production Association; Ya.Ya. Peters, chairman of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union Board; V.N. Chevachin, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; I.Ya. Krastinsh, first secretary of the Yelgava party gorkom; Ya.Ya. Leya, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Z.S. Petkyevich, first secretary of the Rezekne party gorkom; I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; G.I. Stepanov, general director of the "Era" Production Association; A.A. Buylis, Latvian SSR minister of public education; S.V. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB; and M.M. Lisment, member of the "BANGA" Fishing Kolkhoz.

A detailed resolution was passed on the report under discussion.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum adopted the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Election Address to Communists, Working People, and All Voters of the Republic.

The plenum confirmed the composition of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

Organizational questions were then examined: With their agreement Comrades O.G. Anfimov, A.V. Betekhtin, D.V. Bobrov, and I.A. Yemets were released from their duties as members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with their departure from the republic.

The following candidate members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee—V.P. Varnas, first secretary of Balvskiy party raykom; L.M. Kalinina, teacher at Riga's No 5 Secondary School Named for Zenta Ozols; V.V. Zharkov, first secretary of Daugavpils party gorkom; E.L. Svars, first secretary of Aluksnenskiy party raykom; and G.V. Yane, tractor driver at Ventspilsskiy Rayon's "Antse" Kolkhoz—were made full members.

P.V. Praude was released at his request from his duties as member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on his retirement on pension.

The plenum confirmed the following as chiefs of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee departments: G.N. Loskutov as chief of the organizational party and cadre work department; A.Ya. Gruduls as chief of the ideological department; M.Ya. Dubru as chief of the social and economic development department; L.A. Abel as chief of the agrarian department; T.L. Dushkevic as chief of the state law department; and V.Ya. Akmentin as chief of the general department. N.Yu. Usin was confirmed as Latvian Communist Party Central Committee administrator of affairs, and S.S. Palora as chairman of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission.

V.G. Blokhin, N.A. Kakstova, I.N. Kudryavtsev, V.I. Sedykh, A.V. Praude, V.D. Laukman, and V.Ya. Brokan were released from their posts as department chiefs on the abolition of the sectorial departments.

Ye.N. Trofimov, section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party Building and Cadre Work, took part in the plenum's work.

The plenum proceedings will be published in upcoming issues of newspapers.

Debate on Conflicting Republican Laws

PM1301102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Conversation with B. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; and Professor, Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Mozolin, head of the Civil Law Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; chaired by IZVESTIYA journalist E. Parkhomovskiy: "Is a Belorussian in Kazakhstan 'Extraterritorial'?—Justice Minister and Scientist on the Problems of Interrepublic Legal Relations"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Recently, the questions of interrepublic relations, strengthening the sovereignty of the union republics, and ensuring greater consideration for ethnic features and traditions in legislation have become subjects of keen interest to the Soviet public.

An important aspect of this problem—the effect of laws regulating the personal rights of citizens from one republic when on the territory of others—was the subject of a conversation held in the IZVESTIYA editorial office. B. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor V. Mozolin, head of the Civil Law Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, and an IZVESTIYA journalist took part in the conversation.

Journalist: I would like to begin by recalling an episode which happened 10 years ago. Our editorial office was approached by two Azerbaijanis—husband and wife—who were living and working in Moscow. They had given birth to a son and wanted to have his name recorded in the register with the word "ogly," or son, in accordance with the Azerbaijani custom. The Civil Registry Office had refused their request, citing the RSFSR handbook of names and the rules governing the formation of Russian patronymics. Disagreeing with the refusal, they tried to get their own way. The editorial office appealed to various scientific and administrative organizations and the upshot was that the RSFSR Ministry of Justice decided the issue in their favor, as an exception. Today, in the climate of heightened attention to the problems of interethnic, interrepublic relations, one would like to know whether this exception has become the rule. After all, the problems of forming names and surnames are relevant to Kazakhs and Lithuanians, for example, living in the territory of other republics.

Minister: In connection with the case of which you have just reminded us, I can say that members of our ministry carefully studied the issue at the time and gave instructions to all civil registry offices not to create any obstacles in such cases, and to register names and surnames in line with the laws and practices of the union republic in question.

Professor: It seems to me that today this problem must be formulated in broader terms: To establish the possibility of applying the law of one union republic in the territory of another, working on the basis of the principle of citizenship. In other words, the question is one of a certain extraterritorial status. It may not simply be a matter of surnames and patronymics but also of marriageable age, the relationship between parents and their children, and property and inheritance relations. I believe that our civil and family legislation has failed to keep pace with current tasks in the sphere of interethnic, interrepublic relations.

Journalist: We seem to separate these two words—interethnic and interrepublic—with a comma.... I would like to ask in this connection how the concepts of citizenship and nationality relate to each other.

Minister: This question will be answered when all the union republics pass their own laws on citizenship. They will define, for example, who is a citizen of Lithuania and state the criteria on which this definition is based.

Professor: We have evaded these issues in the past. They did not seem to be of importance. Such an attitude is now impossible. But we must understand that under no circumstances can citizenship be restricted on ethnic grounds. In this respect, I feel, all-union principles must be established. No civilized country bases the concept of citizenship on ethnic factors, and we certainly cannot do this, in view of the multiethnic composition of our country. But the question of the criteria by which citizenship is decided is a very complex issue. Obviously it will be decided in different ways in the different union republics. With regard to the question of changing republic citizenship—this a complete blank. I think that to obtain republic citizenship, the question of whether a citizen was born in the territory of the union republic concerned should not have decisive significance. He could have been born in another republic and later chose this one as his place of permanent residence.

Minister: But is the discussion of this issue not rather premature? The union republics will adopt their own laws, and if after this questions do arise, we will resolve them as they come along.

Journalist: It seems to me that there is also another way: Not to simply foresee these issues arising, but to be prepared to solve them as well, and influence their development in the course of the legislative drafting process.

Professor: Of course, we are not talking about interfering in the responsibilities of the union republics, but every one of us has the right to express his opinion beforehand. Perhaps some amendments should be made to the USSR Law on Citizenship.... Perhaps these norms will be somehow reflected in civil legislation, when we establish its new basic principles in the not too distant future.... And in family legislation.... In short, my position comes down to the fact that there are issues which must undoubtedly be regulated on an all-union scale.

Minister: It is important in this respect to preserve a realistic correlation, so that we do not end up with a distorted situation where republic citizenship prevails over union citizenship—although even now, foreigners can apply for citizenship not only to union bodies but also to republic-level bodies, and their Soviet citizenship may begin on obtaining the citizenship of one of the republics.

Journalist: We have gotten somewhat sidetracked from what we were talking about. After all, we were not discussing the correlation of all-union legislation with republic legislation, but the application of one republic's legal norms within the territory of another.

Minister: I agree. In that case we should also focus our attention on this aspect of the matter. In some of our republics, the housing norm is higher than in others. What should happen when a citizen moves?

Professor: I must immediately point out that citizenship can only affect personal rights, which include property rights. As far as housing is concerned, it is a universal principle that everything depends on what is available and where.

Journalist: In the Ukraine a girl has the right to marry at the age of 17—the situation is the same in Uzbekistan. So what happens if she gets married in Minsk, for example?

Minister: Clearly, the legislation of her own republic, which is founded on national traditions, must be respected.

Professor: But clear conflictual norms are also needed here. In the RSFSR, for example, the number of heirs is smaller than in a number of other republics, which provide for inheritance by nieces and nephews. Let us suppose that the legator dies in Russia and his nephews from Uzbekistan turn up to collect their inheritance. The Russian heirs would object to this. Obviously, in cases like these we must refer to the law to which the legator is subordinate rather than that of his various heirs living in different republics. So, if the legator dies in Uzbekistan, his nephews from Moldavia or any other republic would receive the portion of the inheritance due to them. I have heard people say that the state may suffer financial loss, because property and money which could have been escheated and received into the state coffers is inherited by nephews. I believe this consideration is wrong, because it would hurt citizens' legitimate interests.

Minister: We receive a lot of letters from heirs like these. The question obviously needs to be legally resolved.

Professor: The question of double surnames is also important. This practice is allowed in five republics. In other words, a woman who marries can retain her maiden name and add her husband's surname to it. This happens in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan.

Journalist: Let us suppose that a male Muscovite marries a female Muscovite. His wife wants to have a double surname. This is not allowed in the RSFSR. Could they go and register their marriage in the Ukraine, where this possibility exists?

Minister: The law states that a marriage can only be registered where the couple lives or where their parents live. If the Muscovite's mother lives in the Ukraine, and they would consequently like to register their marriage there—that is possible. Otherwise it is not possible.

Journalist: So it seems that, on the one hand, the law depends on the place of registration but, on the other, the place of registration is determined by the law. A vicious circle!

Minister: It is at the moment. But if we say that the principle of citizenship will be applied—and applied, as you say, on an extraterritorial basis—a Belorussian woman or a Ukrainian woman will be able to have a double surname even when her marriage is registered in Estonia, or Kazakhstan, or Moscow....

I would like to point out that the problem we are discussing today is very topical and, as we can see, has come to a head and must be resolved.

Professor: I think that our opinions coincide on the whole. There are just some differences in approach. Let us consider the development of conflictual relations in the sphere of civil, family, and inheritance rights as the first stage in the development of our interrepublic democracy. The second stage will be the development of conflictual relations between union republics in the sphere of economic relations. Here, of course, the role of the Soviet Union's supreme authority will be extremely important. The combination of a strong center and a strong republic will give us the desired result.

Journalist: I hope that this conversation will be of interest to our readers and that they will want to give us their opinions on the issues we have touched upon. We will endeavor to give a detailed study of the readers' mail on this subject in the run-up to the CPSU Central Committee plenum dedicated to the problems of interethnic relations.

Shelest Regrets Anti-Khrushchev 'Coup'

PM1301154189 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 2, 14-20 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 12 Jan 89) pp 5-6

[Interview with P.Ye. Shelest, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by unnamed correspondent under the rubric "Memoirs of a Participant in the Events About Difficult Moments in the Country's History": "On Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Others"; place, date not given]

[Excerpts] The articles about N.S. Khrushchev (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Nos 25, 27, and 47 for 1988) provoked many readers' letters. There was a response, in particular, from P.Ye. Shelest, who was first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo during those times. We publish below his interview with our correspondent. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] On becoming first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee [in 1962], you were in close contact with the country's top leadership, including N.S. Khrushchev. What is your opinion of his political activity?

[Shelest] He made many mistakes, but they must also be shared by the other leaders who worked alongside him.

I agree with what Mikoyan said at that time. He declared at a Presidium session that Khrushchev's activity was the party's great political capital. Indeed, the debunking of Stalin's personality cult alone was worth something. Only someone with great courage and fidelity to socialism's ideals could have ventured to take such a step. In this connection N.S. Khrushchev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee Presidium session which decided his fate was characteristic. Apparently, I alone have preserved the record of it, since no shorthand report was made of that session. At that session—his last one—Khrushchev was crushed, isolated, and powerless to do anything, and yet he found within himself the strength and courage to say:

"I am grateful that you have, nonetheless, said some positive things about my activity. I am pleased for the Presidium and, as a whole, for its maturity. There is a grain of my work in the shaping of this maturity.

"The party has educated us all, myself included. You and I have the same political and ideological basis, and I cannot struggle against you. I will leave and I will not fight. Once again I beg your pardon if I have offended anyone or been rude—anything might have happened in my work. However, I wish to say that I categorically reject a number of the charges made against me. I cannot remember and counter all the charges. My chief shortcoming and weakness is kindness and trustfulness. Perhaps also the fact that I myself did not notice my

shortcomings. But none of you who are present here ever spoke to me openly and frankly about my shortcomings, and you always assented and supported me. You lacked principle and boldness. I am accused because I combined the posts of first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. But I myself did not seek this, you know. This question was decided collectively, and some of you, including Brezhnev, even insisted on it. Perhaps my mistake was that I did not oppose that decision, but you all said it was being done in the interests of the cause.

"Yes, I was somewhat tactless with regard to scientific personnel, particularly toward the Academy of Sciences," Khrushchev continued. "But it is no secret that our science lags behind foreign science and technology on many issues. We are investing tremendous public funds in science and creating all the conditions for creativity and for the introduction of the results of science into the national economy."

Khrushchev went on to give a well-reasoned explanation of the measures taken earlier with regard to events in the Suez Canal, at the time of the Caribbean crisis, and in relations with the PRC. These questions, too, were decided collectively, he said.

"I realize that this is my last political speech, my swan song, as it were. I will not address the plenum. But I would like to put a request to the plenum...."

Before he had time to finish what he was saying. Brezhnev categorically replied: "That will not be." He was supported by Suslov.

After that Khrushchev said: "Obviously, things will now be as you consider necessary." At this tears welled up in his eyes. "Well, I am ready for anything. I myself thought that I had to go, because there are many problems, and it is difficult to cope with them at my age. We have to bring in the young people. One day history will have its weighty, truthful say about what is happening now.

"I now ask for my resignation request to be written, and I will sign it. I rely on you in this matter. If you require it, I will leave Moscow."

Someone proposed: "Why do that?" Everyone supported him. They let Khrushchev stay in Moscow, but they established appropriate surveillance.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of how this coup, as it were, was prepared?

[Shelest] I believe that R. Medvedev's article made Suslov the hero of the coup. His name is mentioned 18 times. I believe that that role is exaggerated. Under Khrushchev, Suslov was not considered the second man in the leadership, as he was under Brezhnev. Other comrades prepared the report which Suslov delivered. The idea was that Brezhnev or, in the last resort, Podgornyy should deliver it. Brezhnev simply funked it, and Podgornyy categorically refused. Then Suslov was entrusted with doing it. Whereas Shelepin, as Medvedev claims, had taken some part in preparing the materials for the plenum, Suslov had not known of the upcoming events until the last minute. When he was told about it, his lips turned blue and his mouth was distorted. He could barely utter: "What are you saying?! There will be civil war."

In short, Suslov was made the hero. But he does not deserve it. The decisive role in Khrushchev's removal belonged to Brezhnev and Podgornyy from beginning to end. And to no one else.

[Correspondent] Do you believe that Khrushchev's removal and Brezhnev's accession to power were objectively necessary?

[Shelest] No, there was no such need. That is my firm conviction, although I myself participated in what happened. I now criticize myself and I sincerely regret what happened.

I will also say this of Khrushchev. I knew him well: We traveled abroad and vacationed together. He described how Beria was disarmed. That was a courageous act. I regard his idea of creating national economic councils as useful. Khrushchev did a great deal to open up outer space and develop our missile troops. He called party workers and leaders of ministries strictly to account for affairs in that sphere. He was an honest man devoted to the core to the party. A real party worker with rich experience of life. He did not like gossips, he liked businesslike people.

[Correspondent] You worked under L.I. Brezhnev for several years. What would you like to say about him? What do you remember?

[Shelest] I believe that as leader of the party and of the state, Brezhnev was a chance, transitional, temporary figure. If it had not been for Podgornyy, he would have been replaced after a year. Podgornyy supported Brezhnev. I do not know why.

Brezhnev was particularly afraid of those leaders who were younger than himself. So Semichastnyy, Shelepin, and Katushev were removed. Subsequently he made short work of everyone who had supported him initially—Voronov, Podgornyy, Kosygin.

He sometimes did this jesuitically. Take, for example, the case of Semichastnyy, who was chairman of the KGB. A Politburo session was being held. Many questions were being decided. Toward the end Brezhnev took a paper from his breast pocket and said: "Now, Comrades, one more question, about Semichastnyy. Please call him." None of those present knew anything, and we had not talked with Semichastnyy himself. And then: "We have decided to reassign you." Where to? Why?

The explanation was brief and unconvincing. Brezhnev at once proposed approving Yu.V. Andropov, with whom there had in fact been no prior discussion, as KGB chairman.

This was roughly how Brezhnev treated other people whom he disliked. He was altogether boorish with Kosygin, for example. The latter had already retired and was in the hospital following a heart attack. His party comrade Brezhnev visited him and asked: "When will you be giving up your dacha?"

Brezhnev was a cowardly, mistrustful, and dull-witted man. He loved power and homage. Do you know how he got his second Hero's Star? By his 60th birthday he was already a Hero of Socialist Labor—a title conferred on him for work in the missile sphere. They decided to give him a second star for his birthday. I was in Kiev at the time. I was sent a petition from Moscow. I looked: Almost everyone had already signed it. So I signed, too. Podgornyy telephoned me 2-3 days later: "Petro, you know Lenya is insisting that he be given a Hero of the Soviet Union star." I said: "On what grounds?" The reply came: "Why do you ask! He has already persuaded everyone. You are the only one left." Just so. And he got his star.

I must particularly emphasize Brezhnev's general low cultural standing and his incompetence on many issues. This evidently accounts for the fact that he brought Suslov close to him. At every trifle: Get in touch with Mikhail Andreyevich. In my view, Suslov is a figure still to be exposed. He did the party more harm than good. We are still reaping the fruits of his activity, particularly in the historical, ideological, and nationalities questions. He strongly insisted on the speediest merging of nations and their languages and cultures. We see what that led to in the example of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is difficult even to describe him as a personality. He was divorced from life and very inward-looking.

We clashed repeatedly over questions of ideology and culture. Here is an example. Dovzhenko, who by then had died, had written a movie script about Taras Bulba. But there was no movie. Then Bondarchuk tackled the matter, and with great difficulty the movie was made. But the picture was not shown at once. Suslov banned it. I asked him why. He said: "Why revive nationalism, why alarm the Poles?" "But it is history," I replied, and went on: "Then let us do away with Gogol."

In short, I failed to convince him. He was of such a Stalinist stock. Here is an example. We were discussing what to publish in the newspaper in connection with Stalin's 90th anniversary. Everyone was silent. I advocated publishing the whole truth, taking the 20th party congress decisions as the basis.

"But how will the people take it?" Suslov asked.

In the end, there was an article, but in an abbreviated form—a great deal had been crossed out by Suslov.

Later, after I got to Moscow, Suslov organized an article in the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY which criticized my book for extolling the Cossacks. Only I had not served in the Cossacks, but had used the archives. The book was withdrawn 1 month later. I went to Brezhnev and said: "What are you doing?" "I have not read the book," he said. "That was done on Suslov's orders."

The following episode also characterizes Brezhnev. In July 1964 he visited me in the Crimea, where I was on vacation. We discussed Khrushchev. Brezhnev didn't just try to persuade me to support him. He shed tears. There was much artistry in his behavior.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of Kosygin?

[Shelest] He was a bright personality. A knowledgeable, honest man.

[Correspondent] An immodest question, but I would like to know why you were dismissed from your post as first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Shelest] I was accused of nationalism after the publication of my book "Our Soviet Ukraine." But I believe that personal reasons were the cause. Brezhnev was afraid that a group of young people would form around me. But there was no hint of a "conspiracy." True, I had frequently gone against his views. For example, I opposed the closure of mines in the Donbass and the splitting up of ministries, and there were other issues.

[Correspondent] What was the dismissal procedure?

[Shelest] It was roughly the same as happened to others. A Central Committee plenum was in session. It was chaired by Brezhnev. Then he handed this function over to Suslov and left the room, inviting me to follow. There, in another room, there was a discussion of my reassignment. Again: "We have decided." Who had decided? This question had not been discussed at the session. Nor at the plenum. The next day a decree was issued, appointing me deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I worked in that capacity for 2 years. I now have a pension. I take what part I can in party social work.

Yeltsin Talks With Perm Students

PM1201141489 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 27 Dec 88 p 4

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Yeltsin: 'I Have Lost But Have No Regrets'"]

[Text] "Politician or adventurist?" This banner headline is carried by the Perm Young Communists' newspaper, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA. The subject of the question

is a member of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of the Soviet Government: Boris Yeltsin. Published across four whole pages is an account of a debate between Yeltsin and students and teachers of the Komsomol higher school that took place on 12 November and was published 4 December but which did not reach Moscow until Christmas Day. The substance of the document is so explosive that the Komsomol central organ decided against publishing it. The youngsters of Perm took the chance, however. The headline and editorial comment serve as a cover for an operation of explicit support for the "reprobate" portrayed as a "bird hit by a careless shot and no longer able to fly south with the rest of the flock." And, of course, also as a "contradictory" man who, "as long as he can remain on the wave of political popularity, literally fails to realize that many of his proposals are already being implemented." Nevertheless his popularity "is beyond doubt," as is his courage as a gambler who "stakes everything in his struggle."

At Perm, in the Urals, not far from Sverdlovsk, which was the political cradle of the former CPSU Politburo member, they have decided to let him speak out. Boris Yeltsin's replies are no less interesting than the questions put to him by the new Komsomol cadres. What is your role as Supreme Soviet deputy? "None, except for participation in the voting." What do you think of the formula of "developed socialism"? Yeltsin quips: First we said that "we had built socialism," then, that the building was "complete." Next, that "we were building developed socialism," and, last, that this too has been built. "Now we find it hard to say what kind of socialism we have built." What does Yeltsin think of this? "All we have done is socialize ownership. That is all. Now some people are talking about 'renewing socialism.' This is an erroneous formula because you can only renew what already exists. Since this is lacking, what is there to renew?" Impetuous, contradictory. He wanted to be in the vanguard in achieving reconstruction. Now he says "we are moving too fast" in the field of democratization. "Democratization is one thing, liberalization is another." What about the legal state? "It does not exist. We are only at the stage of wishing that it existed."

What did he actually say at the famous October plenum that marked his defeat? "Democratic centralism prevails in our country. If it is decided that a document is secret, then it must remain so." But did Gorbachev not admit to the 19th conference that it would have been better to publish it? "I never received the transcript of my speech. So I broke with a decades-old tradition. I raised my hand and asked to speak (previously it was necessary to register 2 weeks in advance and to submit every sentence for checking.)" So what did you say? "Most of my speech to the 19th conference reproduced that speech. Most, not all. I believe that precisely that 'not all' explains why my speech was not published." Do you now accept the verdict that it was a politically erroneous speech? "No, I do not consider it so. In the letters I received, at the rate of 100-120 a day, the majority agreed with me." Who was the target of your criticisms? "Within the Politburo there were many discussions about various issues. Especially between Ligachev and me. Gorbachev adopted different stances...."

Why did you decide to resign? "You only fight when you can win." There followed a barrage of questions about Ligachev, one more explicit than the other. Yeltsin answered some, but not others. Never before have such things been published in a Soviet newspaper. Never have there been such explicit criticisms of a Politburo member and sometimes even veiled criticisms of Gorbachev himself. How do you judge Ligachev's coarse conduct toward you? Do you believe his position has been weakened? "I receive many letters and know what people think of him. I believe the Politburo receives letters too. If I were in his shoes I would seriously consider the situation and the advisability of tendering my resignation." On how many points do you disagree? "We do not disagree on the strategy of restructuring. With regard to tactics we disagree on many points." For instance? "With regard to 'special parcels' for the nomenklatura. I have always opposed this hierarchical system for the distribution of goods. He is in favor of it, however." But there is also disagreement between the two over the fight against alcoholism. Yeltsin blames the extremism in this connection precisely on Ligachev. He implies that Ligachev did not help him in the struggle against the power groups that had established themselves in Moscow.

What mistakes did you commit as the capital's first secretary? "I failed to appreciate the strength of the mafia organized in all fields in Moscow. I could have made more use of the general secretary's and the Politburo's support. I could have used the support of Ligachev, Dolgikh, and others. However, I was not smart enough to do so." There were also some arrows aimed at Gorbachev. Yeltsin disagrees with the combining of the posts of party chief and president of the Soviet. "It has a certain logic only at the very top. But below, in the local authorities, it is a gross mistake." He rejects, and turns round, the charge that he replaced too many cadres in his moralizing "fury": "I replaced 26 out of 33 rayon first secretaries. But if we calculate the percentage of regional secretaries (changed by Gorbachev—L'UNITA editor's note), we see that it is no smaller." Did anybody in the Politburo defend you? "Perhaps. But so cautiously..."

What has happened to Volkov, the secretary at the Sverdlovsk factory named for Kalinin who defended you at the 19th conference? "They tried to torpedo him, but the factory defended him. There are 12,000 Communists at the Kalinin plant. When he returned and spoke in the Palace of Culture he was welcomed with ovations and they decided: Woe betide anyone who touches him. With this kind of party organization, nobody dares risk a confrontation." Are you not afraid that you could be retired at anytime "for health reasons"? "I am as fit as a fiddle, though I could suddenly find myself 'ill' or in Ethiopia."

Zaykov Speaks on Moscow Health Care

LD1201133589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 p 4

[MOSTASS correspondent report: "Health Care Is a Common Concern; Meeting of Capital's Party and Economic Aktiv on Questions of the Development of Health Care"]

[Excerpts] Protecting the people's health and improving the quality of medical aid are among the most important tasks defined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. The transformation of the ideas of restructuring into the practice of socialist building today depends largely on the successful development of health care as one of the most urgent social spheres of public life.

The capital's medical personnel are seeking paths for the further accelerated development of health care and outlining specific plans to overcome the lag in this care, seeking the rapid and complete implementation of what has been planned. The progress of this work was discussed 7 January at a meeting of the capital's party and economic aktiv devoted to the improvement of medical aid for the Moscow population.

It was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

In his speech he noted that today there is a discussion of the entire complex of tasks connected with further improving political, socioeconomic, and cadres policy in the city, including health care. New approaches have now been defined toward the leadership of the city as a single national economic and social complex.

The elaboration of the "Progress-95" program for intensifying the development of Moscow's economy is now being completed and its implementation will make it possible to ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to effectively combine sectorial and territorial interests, and to promote the solution of the Muscovites' most acute problems: housing, food, transport, and medical provision for the population.

There is no doubt that questions connected with the protection of people's health are extremely important for the city, L.N. Zaykov noted. Much has been done to reveal the reasons for the neglect of health care and to determine constructive paths for improving the standard of medical aid for Muscovites. Special CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions have been adopted on the further development of health care in Moscow. There has been an examination of questions of consolidating the material and technical base of treatment and prevention institutions and their provision with modern medical equipment. Measures have been elaborated to keep cadres and to enhance the prestige of the medical worker's profession. The implementation of what has been planned will make it possible to improve Muscovites' health and to adjust the city health care system.

It is essential to acknowledge that the principle of "residual" financing for health care which has prevailed for many years has had an adverse effect on the Moscow health service. This state of affairs cannot suit us—Muscovites quite rightly want to be healthy.

Above all it is essential now to strengthen the medical institutions' material and technical base and to provide them with modern equipment. The degree of equipping of the majority of medical institutions does not meet the capital level. Often the simplest equipment is lacking. In our view an incomprehensible, paradoxical situation is taking shape: The union health and instrument building ministries are in Moscow, yet are totally failing to supply the city's medical institutions with the necessary medical equipment. For instance, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems is failing to produce extremely necessary disposable instruments.

The shortage of doctor cadres and middle and junior medical workers remains as before. Questions of improving management and planning in the city and rayon health care system are being resolved only slowly. Existing plans for the introduction of new forms of labor organization have not become widespread in the city's medical institutions.

There are also many unresolved problems connected with conservation of the environment, shaping a healthy way of life for Muscovites, and other problems. Many economic leaders and sometimes even party and soviet workers underestimate the influence exerted on health by the social and daily living and ecological environment. Many permanent sources of pollution remain in the city. The party committees, Moscow Gorispolkom, and rayon soviets must keep these questions under constant control.

V.N. Mudrak, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Health Administration, who was the next to speak at the aktiv meeting, stressed that one of the main places in the solution of health care problems is taken up by the cadres question. He cited figures characterizing the inadequate staffing of Moscow hospitals and polyclinics. There is only one way of resolving the problem, he said—increasing the intensity of the use of the creative potential of doctors and other specialists in medical and scientific institutions.

The speaker dwelled in detail on problems of the differentiated remuneration of the labor of medical workers, in particular the earmarking of additional funds for those collectives where progressive forms of rendering aid are being introduced, where its quality is improving, and preventive work is being actively performed.

It is planned to commission mobile polyclinics and stationary institutions, mother and child care centers, consultation and diagnostic centers, first and emergency aid stations, and other establishments.

With a view to fundamentally improving Muscovites' health care, a system of specific measures has been developed and is being implemented, making it possible to coordinate the efforts of soviet, party, and trade union organs, ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, and all labor collectives. By coordinating the efforts of all the city's services, this will make possible a big step forward in improving medical aid for the capital's population.

Having described in detail the restructuring processes taking place in the work of the health care organs, the speaker announced that in the past 2 years temporary work disability had been reduced 12.5 percent in the city. But there are still many unresolved problems which can only be dealt with by the joint efforts of the health care organs and by party and soviet organizations. [passage omitted]

In his concluding speech L.N. Zaykov stressed the importance and urgency of all work to protect Muscovites' health, to strengthen the material and technical base of the capital's health care, to improve the standard and qualifications of medical personnel, and to expand their rights and duties.

It was deemed necessary, on the basis of the results of the aktiv meeting, to elaborate very rapidly and to adopt a comprehensive plan of measures for the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, the USSR Ministry of Health, and the Moscow Gorispolkom to fulfill the proposals which were voiced and to ensure their unconditional implementation.

Taking part in the work of the party and economic aktiv were V.S. Strizhov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development; N.T. Trubilin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Serov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan; N.A. Stashenkov, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; G.F. Sukhoruchenkova, secretary of the AUCCTU, and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Visit Kuntsevo Tent Hospital

LD1201232688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Emergency medical centers are being set up under the USSR Ministry of Health. A report from our correspondent Slipchenko:

[Slipchenko, over video of inflatable tents with entrances marked "hospital room," "operating room," "sorting room," and "resuscitation room"] This little town grew up a few days ago on the grounds of the Central Clinical Hospital at Kuntsevo. On the instructions of the country's Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Health has to create a network of emergency medical centers—they are also called catastrophe centers. Scientific and technical progress demands increasingly sophisticated chemical and power engineering plants; no country in the world can yet manage without harmful, ecologically dangerous enterprises. And natural disasters give no warning of the time and place they will occur. [video shows gas masks, protective clothing, medical supplies and vdu equipment on display]

Today, an inspection was made of this town's special medical assistance resources. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov made the inspection. [video shows Ryzhkov and Slyunkov, in outdoor clothing, being shown a separate tent marked "radiation unit", and then watching one of the tent units being inflated using domestic vacuum cleaner] [passage omitted]

Scientist on Diagnosing Mental Patients

LD1201145289 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"There are no patients in mental hospitals in the USSR who are there for political reasons," Georgiy Morozov, chairman of the Soviet Scientific Society of Psychiatrists-Neuropathologists, told a TASS correspondent. "The conscientiousness and competence of individual physicians can perhaps be questioned, but I rule out the possibility of deliberate wrong diagnoses. [no closing quotation marks as received]

A list with names of 48 patients of Soviet mental hospitals whose diagnosis has been questioned by the U.S. side has recently been sent to the USSR Health Ministry from the United States, Georgiy Morozov went on. "We are thoroughly studying this list and we shall also give an opportunity to a delegation of American psychiatrists who will arrive in Moscow early in February to familiarise themselves with the state of these patients and the course of their treatment," he said. Any foreign or Soviet citizens can familiarise themselves with specific cases of mental disease about which they have doubts, he said.

The lists sent from abroad quite often contain the names of persons who are either not in hospitals or do not reside in the Soviet Union. A list of 112 names was sent to the USSR Health Ministry in November 1988. It turned out, however, that only eight persons named in the list were kept in hospitals, and all of them were committed to hospitals on court decisions in connection with actions hazardous for life or health of others.

Measures for revamping the procedure of registration and observation of mental cases are now being implemented in the Soviet Union, Georgiy Morozov said.

The World Psychiatric Association has invited Soviet psychiatrists to rejoin it and the Soviet side has agreed.

Census To Give 'More Exact' Ethnic Picture

LD1201121889 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By TASS analyst Boris Prokhorov:

The Soviet Union has begun the census of the population on Thursday. During a week (the census will end on January 19), questionnaires will be filled out for each of 285 million Soviet citizens.

Censuses of population have their tradition in our country. The first general census was held late in the last century. They were held each decade after the Second World War, which gives a chance to conduct planning work more efficiently. The present census helps to plan better the economic and social development of the Soviet state and society by the end of the current century.

Each census in the USSR has its peculiar features. The present one is characteristic of an increased number of questions (25 instead of 18 as was in 1979). Additional questions are about living conditions of people (the USSR set the task of providing every family with a separate flat or a house by the year 2000) and vocational training. On the whole, the mass statistical study will give an instantaneous demographic and social "portrait" of Soviet soviety.

Specialists believe that it will be more exact than the previous ones. This concerns, among other things, nationality of the polled. It happened during previous censuses that at localities representatives of small national minorities were arbitrarily included, when filling out questionnaires or during an initial processing of data, in national groups prevailing on some territory or other. For instance in the past they turned Gazuls into Ukrainians and Pomors into Russians. As a result, some, though small but quite independent, ethnic groups of population "were lost" statistically. This time census officers were instructed to record in questionnaires only what they are told by the polled and are utterly forbidden "to generalize" arbitrarily any data. Therefore, there are grounds to believe that the present census will give a more exact "ethnic portrait" of the Soviet people.

The decision to publish widely the results of the present all-union census is also a heartening change. Compare: The results of the 1979 census were published in one small volume put out in an edition of 20,000, while the results of the 1989 census are decided to be turned out in 14 volumes. The first results will be summed up and published in April-May.

The census is already in progress. Over one million specially trained specialists will participate in it, including more than 900,000 people filling out questionnaires. Each of them will talk during the week, on average, with 300 Soviet citizens.

State Statistical Committee Views 1989 Census

LD1201142689 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 23 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Zenonas Kuncevicius, deputy chief of the State Statistical Committee, entitled: "How Many of Us and What Are We?," under the rubric "As Population Census Approaches"]

[Text]**In January 1989, a general population census will be conducted in our country. The collected data will be helpful to determining union, as well as individual republic changes. It will also be used in the preparation of the 13th 5-Year Plan and in projecting economic outlook and social development plans.**

The first population census that would meet today's census-taking standards was conducted in 1846 in Belgium. Data was collected during a 1-day period, on every individual, rather than on the entire economy. A European census, in the true sense of the word, was not begun until the second half of the last century. Currently, 95 percent of the world's population is subject to a population census. In most countries such registration is conducted every 10 years, while in some, such as Japan, Canada, and others, it occurs every 5 years.

In Lithuania a general census was conducted in 1923 and 1942.

The first Soviet population census was conducted in 1920. It took place under difficult and disruptive Civil War conditions and, for this reason, included only 72 percent of the population. A census of the entire population was taken in 1926. Later, registrations were conducted in 1937, 1939, 1959, and 1979. The 1937 census data results were declared unreliable and were not published.

In both our country and our republic, present-day population statistics are based on birth, death, marriage, divorce, and migration data. This type of registration should not, however, replace a regularly conducted population census, because it only supplements the data. After a certain period of time following the census, it is necessary to define the number and makeup of the population more accurately. The further we drift from the data base (census) the greater becomes the margin of error. In addition to this, the existing statistics fail, for example, to provide data such as, population makeup according to nationality, native language, knowledge of other Soviet Union languages, means of support, family structure, etc. Such information can only be obtained through a population census.

Population numbers undergo constant changes; there are incidences of births and deaths, and moves from one place to another. For example, in 1987 alone, in our republic, 59.9 thousand births and 36.9 thousand deaths were recorded. During that period, 5 percent of the population changed their permament place of residence. Thus, the exact number of the population can be demonstrated within a certain period of time, only. In 1989, that period (moment) will occur at 12 midnight on 11 January. That does not mean that census takers will visit the apartments in the middle of the night. The census will commence on 12 January at 8 A.M. and will continue until 19 January. However, in taking the census, this period of time will be used as a reference point. Residents falling into two categories—permanent residents, and those present on the premises at the given time—will be registered.

Regardless of where they are pre-registered, the census will be taken at the permanent residence of an individual. Specially trained census takers will visit all apartments and other places of residence during a period of 8 days, and, having obtained information from the population, without reguiring documents, will fill out the census forms. Such trust demands the residents' consciousness, because false answers to questions will distort reality. All census takers will carry special ceritificates and identification badges. They are not to reveal the contents of the questionnaires.

By the way, census takers will visit all apartments and other housing, in their assigned territory neighborhoods, before the start of the census, that is, 7-10 january. At that time, they will simply ask how many people are actually living there and will agree on a mutually convenient date and time for conducting the census.

The program of the upcoming census, like the ones taken earlier, will include questions concerning both continuous and selective observations. A majority of them are similar to those included in the 1979 census. The program of continuous census includes: relation to a family member, which was included as the first (in the 1979 census it was worded: relation to head of the family), sex, year, month, day of birth, family status, nationality, native language, what other soviet union language is spoken well, education, studies (in progress), and means of support. The selective part of the census program (25 percent of permanent population) includes questions on: workplace, responsibilities, social group (worker, office worker, kolkhoz worker, individual work activity, clergyman) uninterrupted span of time at the present address, (without interruption from birth or, if not, from what city, village, and when arrived); women need to answer how many children were born to them and how many of them are living.

The 1989 continuous census also contains some new questions: place of birth (republic, region, republic capital, Moscow, Leningrad). Answers to this question will provide new important data on the migration of the population. There is a question on professional training. Two means of support sources will be indicated.

The upcoming census, for the first time since 1926, will include questions on what types of apartments the families live in, how they were obtained and what sort of communal conveniences they contain.

As one can see, the census program is rather wide ranging. It is projected that it will yield 10 times more information than the 1979 census. With use of new calculating technology, it is anticipated the census results will be announced in March-April. The State Statistical Committee and its local rayon and city organizations have been tasked with the organization and carrying out of the census.

Workers of enterprises, offices, organizations, kolkhozes, as well as schoolteachers, higher education instructors and students, and students of higher technical school courses, will be enlisted to help with the census, in accordance with stipulations provided for workers engaged in state and public duties. In all, 20 thousand people will be enlisted to help with this task.

During the course of the census, they will act in the capacity of census takers, instructors and controllers, chiefs of census sections and their deputies, and deputies of rayon and city statistics department chiefs. These individuals are excused from their duties at their permanent places of employment, or from schools, while remaining on the payroll, or receiving a stipend, during the designated period of time. The statistical organizations will pay them by means of one additional payment.

One census taker is expected to interview 410 city residents and 290 rural residents, on average.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet passed a resolution stating that, in view of the approaching census, it will not effect any territorial and administrative changes, in the republic, from 1 August of this year to 1 May of 1989. It is of utmost importance not to have any street name changes, or house and apartment number changes, take place in city-type areas, during this time period.

As we prepare for the census and during its course, we are anticipating considerable assistance from commissions aiding the union population census. Such commissions have been set up under executive committees and larger enterprises and organizations. A total of 937 commissions, comprising approximately 6 thousand individuals, have been established.

Economic

1988 Foreign Trade Totals R132 Billion

LD1101175389 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Soviet Union's foreign trade in 1988 amounted to more than 132 billion rubles, according to a senior official from the Ministry of External Economic Relations.

Tadeuzh Teodorovich, chief of the ministry's Directorate for Foreign Economic Policy, disclosed the figure at a briefing here on Wednesday.

The share of industrial ministries and factories engaging in foreign trade on their own reached 30 percent of the nation's foreign trade turnover.

However, they were more active as buyers, with exports accounting for just 25 percent of their operations in external markets, Teodorovich added.

This is why they should concentrate on making their products more competitive this year, he stressed.

Speaking of the streamlined structure of his ministry, Teodorovich said that the number of its foreign trade associations in 1988 was cut to 25 from 45.

Their staffs were reduced as well and their functions were enlarged to cover both cooperation in investments and export and import transactions in their lines of specialisation.

Teodorovich said that all the ministry's associations this year will begin to be really put on a pay-your-own-way basis, which will leave them with their own circulating capital and hard currency funds to manage.

He noted also that Soviet exports were four billion rubles up on imports last year. The figure, however, does not reflect fully the picture regarding the nation's balance of payments, which deteriorated in some aspects, he added.

Academics Host Phone-In on World Economy

LD1101111089 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 10 January 1989 carries the 85-minute "Repercussions" phone-in program, dealing with the topic: the world economy on the threshold of the third millenium.

The program is hosted by observer Farid Seyful-Mulyukov, with studio guests Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy; Academician Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the USA and Canada; Academician Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System; Doctor of Economics Nikolay Petrovich Shmelev, departmental chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the USA and Canada; and Prof Nodariy Aleksandrovich Simoniya, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Economy and International Relations.

After a brief discussion by Arbatov on the militarist nature of the 20th century, Gorbachev's UN speech, and possible developments in the next century, Abalkin views the changes in the Soviet economy. He says:

"In a relatively short period of time—within some 5, 7, or 8 years—we must travel the path of switching to the resource-saving type of growth that many countries traveled in the seventies. Otherwise we could remain a backward country forever." He goes on:

"We must cut our country's excessive spending, the budget spending, the spending on the construction of unjustified numbers of installations, and the military space programs, which require a scrupulous stock-taking in order to make fairly serious savings. There also needs to be a squeeze on the completely unjustified growth in financial handouts, because they do not solve problems but lead to an even greater discrepancy between consumer demand and the supply of goods and services on the market."

In reply to a question from Arbatov as to how he envisages peaceful coexistence between fulfillment of the 5-year plan and the demands of the new economic reforms, Abalkin recommends pragmatism and realism. After contributions from Bogomolov and Shmelev on this topic, Abalkin says that some plans, such as that for housing, should be met, but it would be a mistake simply to go for quantity in all things; that will not bring the desired effect.

Bogomolov then answers a question about economic development in the other socialist countries. They are behind their Western counterparts due to historical factors, he says. Simoniya suggests that it was a departure from Lenin's New Economic Policy that was to blame. Bogomolov regrets the Stalinist models that were imposed on them. He says that the confusion between national property and state property has alienated people, and this must stop. A further discussion ensues on the influence of the harshness of Russian history on contemporary economics, Abalkin stressing that the USSR must now play a full part in the world economy. Shmelev praises the Leontyev method which helped Japan to its economic miracle, but says that it is not universally applicable. Leontyev himself, when in the USSR on a visit, told Shmelev that the USSR would be wrong to go for U.S.-style capitalism. Bogomolov talks of the need for new staff capable of functioning in the new economic climate, and Shmelev warns of the threat of inflation unless the USSR lives within its means.

Simoniya then answers viewers' questions on Soviet economic relations with Japan and South Korea.

In response to another question about whether the "economy of disarmament" is realistic, given the situation in the United States, Arbatov says that the U.S. military-industrial complex, while important, is only one part of the ruling class there, and that if the U.S. ruling class has no political incentive for military spending, then disarmament may be possible. He says that the world is now interdependent, and we must all learn to live together.

Seyful-Mulyukov now reads a viewer's question, as follows:

"What effect on restructuring do you expect from the transfer of part of our defense industry to a civilian basis, and the possible cut in military spending? When will we get any profits out of space, as was promised by Academician Korolev, who said that spending on space will pay for itself 100 times over?"

Abalkin replies:

"I think that if we act sufficiently resolutely and energetically, then in the next year or two, or three, we may receive a substantial return from the transfer of part of the military industry to producing civilian output. Moreover, here there are a number of factors that are extremely favourable. Instead of building a new enterprise that would need enormous investment, the creation of its own work force, and its social sphere, you could reorient a military enterprise producing military goods, have sufficiently qualified staff including qualified engineering staff, and have a social and cultural sphere—housing, children's facilities, etc—that are quite well-appointed, indeed better than in other cases. This does not require great capital investments, or it can be done through readjustment. Of course, one cannot directly compare different types of goods. One must look at what is being done and how. There are, of course, simple decisions where machinery can be produced, say, instead of military equipment, in the tractor or aircraft industry. There are masses of consumer goods which these enterprises could produce. It is important that this is done rationally, and strictly economically.

"Well, as for space programs, I don't think this investment can produce such a direct economic effect in a short period, although it is doing a little for the national economy. Evidently here we need to take account of two circumstances—at least they are the ones I would single out. First, money must be spent carefully. We must live within our means here, too. If there is no money, then the program must be postponed, taking priorities into consideration. And second, such research has perhaps not a direct effect, but in moving ahead many areas of theoretical research it creates the basis on which, if approached correctly and rationally again, it would be possible to successfully advance many civilian production areas, primarily machine-building."

Arbatov now says:

"You know, I think that apart from industry there will be an enormous potential put into research capabilities by the defense industry. And if we can learn to harness them to supply us—especially given the horrendous backwardness of our applied science in many industries connected with consumer and other goods—then the effect here, I think, could be very great. But, of course, these are industries which in general functioned on the loss principle all the time. The financing must be completely thought through. But these matters are probably all resolvable, though programs and serious planning are needed."

Bogomolov then asnwers a question about free economic zones. He views them positively, pointing to their success in the PRC. A lengthy discussion then follows on the prospects for convertibility of the ruble and the possible methods of achieving it. Bogomolov says the Soviet export restrictions on consumer goods were taken only after similar export restrictions were imposed on Soviet tourists by the Czechoslovaks and then by other East European states.

Simoniya answers a question on the debt crisis in the Third World. He says that the crisis should not be overdramatized, but is chided by Arbatov, who believes it to be a serious and potentially dangerous phenomenon. Arbatov goes on to discuss the need for the USSR to play its full role on the world stage. He stresses the need for all countries to cooperate in order to avoid ecological disaster.

In response to a question about whether capitalism and socialism are moving closer together, Abalkin says that we are only just beginning to reinterpret our development, and it is hard to say how this will end. He forecasts that the USSR will choose the best aspects of economic practice from both East and West.

Simoniya next talks about socialist-oriented countries in the Third World. He says there are many variants of progress towards socialism, and that they will be in danger of just becoming little Stalinist states unless they rethink the model that the Soviets exported to them. Shmelev says the nonconvertibilty of the ruble is a major obstacle in the way of developing joint enterprises with U.S. firms. Bogomolov says the single market in the EEC may have an effect on relations with CEMA, making it more difficult for CEMA exports, but relations in general are progressing.

In reply to a question about transnational corporations, Arbatov says they are a fact of life, and even though they are monopolies, the USSR deals with them as legitimate trade partners. Simoniya points out that some of them have their good points.

Abalkin answers a question about when a law on leasing will be brought in, saying "this year."

The phone-in ends with a discussion about competition and its benefits for developing the economy.

Seyful-Mulyukov winds up by showing a sheaf of new questions, and promises that a follow-up program will try to answer some of them.

Economic Official on Price Index Reform

PM1201144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, by correspondent V. Romanyuk under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Equation With One 'N'"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently discussed proposals put forward by the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to eliminate shortcomings in the current practice of setting prices.

"These measures," V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, said during a conversation with our IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Romanyuk, "have been prompted by the deteriorating situation in the price-setting sphere. On the one hand, the reform of the price system is not yet complete and some goods are still more profitable than others and, on the other hand, the laws on the state enterprise and cooperatives give labor collectives broader rights in setting prices. The results of this are well known to all: There are now fewer inexpensive goods and more expensive ones. Transferring to the cost recovery system, enterprises are trying to generate more profit, including by means of raising prices. Administrative restrictions in the form of plan targets are now weaker, while economic restrictions have yet to be elaborated. Hence the contradictions in the sphere of price setting, to which we can no longer be reconciled.

"Take the 'N' index, for example [index letter applied to products with innovative content as a result of which producers are authorized to charge higher prices]. It has existed since 1972 and had never amounted to more than 12 percent of the total volume of output. In 1987 it even fell to 10 percent. But in 1988? A massive leap—up to 15 percent!"

[Romanyuk] So what is proposed to be done about this?

[Pavlov] It is planned to establish fairly strong restraints on price increases—both economic and administrative. The role and responsibility of trade in price formation are growing. Until now the procedure has been as follows: If a commodity is not sold because the price does not correspond to quality, the subsequent markdown has been the equal concern of the factory and the store. Now, however, all losses are the sole concern of trade, so it will, I hope, be more cautious in its approach to contractual prices.

The practice of setting a ceiling on prices is going to be more actively employed. Maximum prices are being set for all types of goods and represent the upper limit of a contractual price. In this respect new elements are being introduced to the old mechanism. A consumer has the right to demand a lower price and reestimate for an entire consignment if the actual quality of the goods does not meet the conditions stipulated when the maximum price was being set.

In addition to this, various artificial concessions and markups are being abolished, because, as practice has shown, they have not stimulated high quality. All those indexes—"ML" ("for young people"), "OM" ("high fashion"), and others, which indicated very hypothetical innovation and for which high prices were always charged—are now being abolished. The "N" ("innovation") index is the only one to be retained, and that only in cases where there are clear indications that there is something new about the product. The maximum markup for these goods has been cut from 30 percent to 15 percent.

[Romanyuk] But an exception has been made for the "N" index, nevertheless.... Despite the fact that it is often used to grace goods that are certainly not of irreproachable quality.

[Pavlov] This has also been taken into consideration. Representatives of consumer unions will sit on artistic councils. They will decide just how innovative a product really is. It is certainly not allowed to set contractual prices or use the "N" index for goods intended for children and elderly people.

[Romanyuk] But is it not possible to issue a directive prohibiting the manufacture of expensive goods and obliging producers to manufacture only inexpensive commodities?

[Pavlov] No, we cannot do that, of course. That is why we have realised it is necessary to enhance the role played by the state order system in the formation of socially low prices. A whole system of incentives is being introduced to make sure the producer benefits from the state order. For example, if a factory can retain 20-25 percent of the profit on ordinary goods to use as it thinks fit, it will be able to keep 50-100 percent of the profit on goods for old people and even receive a subsidy in addition. Creating the conditions whereby it is equally profitable to produce both cheap and expensive goods is extremely important for our economy as a whole. I am thoroughly convinced that the profit margin of all goods must be the same, but the difference in profit actually received must depend solely on the level of production organization.

[Romanyuk] Families with low incomes and pensioners will undoubtedly benefit from these measures. But what is the planned program going to cost the state?

[Pavlov] Budget revenue will lose approximately R1 billion from this. There is not much good about that, of course. But we will all gain in the end. It is immoral to pay more for work than it is really worth, and the removal of various markups will act as a sharp restraint on payments of this kind.

Real rights in price control are being given to local soviets: If necessary, they can now set a ceiling on fruit and vegetable prices, say, in state trade stores. Incidentally, in cities and population centers with more than 50,000 people it is planned to incorporate in ispolkoms the post of price controller: Through these price controllers, ispolkoms will be able to monitor the situation in the price sphere and coordinate the activity of the public—in the form of consumer clubs and societies.

Agricultural

Head of State Pricing Committee on Agriculture

PM1201162989 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, under the rubric "Debating Platform": "Has the Price Balance Been Disrupted?"; first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] SELSKAYA ZHIZN continues its publication of materials on reform in the price formation system. It is perfectly obvious that the current practice for determining the price of products has outlived its usefulness and fails to meet the tasks of economic reform It creates imbalances in the redistribution of national income and a breeding ground for the satisfaction of narrow group interests. Expensive output has become highly advantageous for enterprises and ministries, but it is totally disadvantageous for the national economy. How are we to create a reliable price formation mechanism that will objectively take socially necessary expenditures into account and, at the same time, erect a reliable barrier against uncontrollable price rises? This is the topic of the following article. Of course, not all of the points it makes are indisputable, and the editorial office, with readers' participation, will continue the discussion of a topic that concerns each and every one of us.

Ensuring equivalent exchange between industry and agriculture is one of the fundamental questions of contemporary agrarian policy. Deviation from Lenin's principles in the practice of socialist building, voluntarism, and disregard for economic laws at some periods of our history produced not just gross breaches of equivalence but even downright plundering of the countryside.

During the fifties, for example, wheat was bought from kolkhoz members at 1 kopek per kilogram while the retail price of flour at the time was 31 kopeks. Rye was bought at 0.6 kopeks while rye flour was being sold at 25 kopeks. Beef was acquired on kolkhozes at 23 kopeks per kilogram and was sold at an average price of R0.5. The purchase price of milk stood at 2.8 kopeks per liter against a retail price of 22 kopeks.

Radical changes occurred in mutual economic relations between city and countryside following the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum. Having analyzed the actual prevailing situation, the plenum adopted radical measures to restore the price parity of agricultural and industrial output.

The special methodology for the determination of price parity, first elaborated in 1983, was amplified and refined by scientists from the All-Union Agricultural Economics Scientific Research Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Prices Scientific Research Institute in conjunction with interested departments in 1987, and was then introduced in practice. Its main feature is its reliance on an assessment of the consumer utility value of industrial goods—like, for example, the throughput capacity of combine harvesters, the nutrient content of mineral fertilizers, or the digestible protein content of mixed feed. Such an approach makes it possible to determine the real benefit from the utilization of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, or mixed feed. Their cost might be greater than that of the items they replace, but the price per unit of consumer utility is, as a rule, lower.

Calculations made by the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR State Committee for Statistics, and the USSR State Committee for Prices show that in the last few years the balance of commodity exchange between city and countryside has been shifting in favor of the agrarian sector. Moreover, agriculture's price relations with the other national economic sectors are taking shape without infringing the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Compared with 1983, the 1987 earnings of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises from the sale of agricultural produce increased by R17.3 billion. Moreover, additional earnings amounting to R7.8 billion resulted from a direct increase in purchase prices and the application of the various supplements added to them.

At the same time, agriculture's expenditure on acquiring industrial output and paying for services increased by a total of R2.7 billion. Compared with 1983, the 1987 index of purchase prices stood at 107 percent, while the means of production and industrial services index stood at 106.4 percent.

In parallel with other measures, the new purchase prices and the supplements added to them helped increase the production and purchases of agricultural output and improve the financial position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Their average annual profit in 1983-1987 amounted to R23.3 billion against R2.5 billion in 1978-1982. The growth of profit amounted to R20.8 billion, which was R4.8 billion more than the total amount of

funds appropriated in 1983 for increases in purchase prices and supplements. This offers convincing proof that over the past few years price parity has shifted in favor of the countryside. Had it been otherwise, there would have been a decline in kolkhoz and sovkhoz profits.

These are the objective facts of the past few years. But the unbalanced exchange in favor of industry that indeed existed in the past is so deeply rooted in the minds of some scientists that they do not or will not take note of the positive changes that have occurred and are occurring in this sphere.

Such a stance could be seen as innocent confusion and overlooked. But, in the conditions where parity is being reached in commodity exchange between agriculture and industry, any claims of the infringement of the interests of rural working people result in gross mistakes and provide theoretical substantiation for demagoguery and at times even for the formulation of fundamentally wrong views about the inefficiency of any further intensification of agricultural production.

The full satisfaction of production's needs for equipment produces great benefits wherever production has been successfully transferred to an industrial basis. Industrial poultry breeding offers the most convincing example. Automation of individual work processes and also comprehensive mechanization of production processes have been introduced there. The capital-labor ratio on poultry breeding sovkhozes is almost 40 percent greater than in agriculture as a whole. The return on capital is almost 25 percent greater than the average for the country's agro-industrial complex. As a result of the industrialization of poultry breeding, the volume of egg purchases has increased 10-fold and poultry meat purchases 16-fold. The sector's profits in 1987 amounted to about R3 billion.

At the same time, the foregoing arguments do not in any way remove the question of price parity. It seems to us that it is difficult to achieve genuine, stable, and self-regulating equivalence in conditions where two price levels are applied to agricultural equipment, mineral fertilizers, and other industrial products supplied to the countryside. Price anomalies contribute to the creation of a paradoxical situation where consumers of agricultural equipment have virtually no interest in the real costs incurred by society in the production of equipment.

For example, a K-700A tractor costs industry R18,700, but agricultural enterprises pay R12,000 for it. For tractors as a whole, this gap ranges between 36 and 41 percent. While such a gap exists, consumers are less demanding about the quality of machines supplied. They have a distorted picture of the actual benefit from expenditures on carefully looking after equipment and fertilizer. As a rule, throwaway prices generate a throwaway attitude toward the acquired commodities.

Under the dual price system the state in fact expropriates funds from efficient enterprises and infringes their interests in order to compensate for the difference between industry's price and the price at which the products are sold to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This price difference amounts to tens of billions of rubles and is covered by the budget.

All this applies in full to the application of dual prices in mutual relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as suppliers of agricultural raw materials, and the enterprises which process them acutally within the agro-industrial complex. The purchase prices payable here are significantly higher than the prices paid by meat combines and dairy plants.

New approaches to pricing of agricultural produce are now being worked out. This involves rejecting the concept of building purchase prices on the basis of the worst-case cost theory [teoriya zamykayushchikh zatrat], since the application of this concept would lead to unnecessary redistribution processes. The determination of purchase prices according to the worst possible soil and climate conditions would involve retail price increases running into tens of billion of rubles, while the amount of rental payments collected from individual farms would be almost the same as the profit they earn.

It is intended to ensure preferential incentives for the purchase of basic agricultural products where the production conditions are most favorable. The state will use prices to promote the formation of specialized zones for the large-scale commodity production of food and feed grain, industrial crops, meat, milk, and other produce. In conformity with the Law "On Cooperative Activity in the USSR," prices for the agricultural products in which each zone mainly specializes should guarantee the recouping of production costs and the earning of the net revenue necessary for expanded reproduction even by farms operating in relatively inferior soil and climate conditions. But no account will be taken of expenditures resulting from poor standards of economic management.

The effect of revising purchase and wholesale prices will be to align the partners' economic interests and increase the efficiency of industrial production while maintaining price parity between agriculture and industry. This necessitates a considered and objective analysis of the problems. Yet a number of statements by scientists and practitioners often groundlessly point to lack of equivalence in the exchange between industry and agriculture.

The state has not introduced any increase in the prices of industrial products for the countryside since 1982. A scrupulous and careful interdepartmental analysis of the problem makes it possible to conclude that declarations about lack of equivalence in the exchange between industry and the countryside are often based on incorrect information or on no information at all. It is not a question of price increases for agricultural equipment and mineral fertilizers, which never happened. The

essence of the problem lies in the fact that, since 1988, the agro-industrial complexes in a number of union republics, krays, and oblasts—and all kolkhozes and sovkhozes since this year—have transferred to payments for these types of products using standard industry prices. In other words, preferential prices for agricultural consumers have now been abolished. Moreover, these authors take great care not to mention the difference between preferential prices and industry's prices for agricultural equipment and mineral fertilizers. This difference amounts to a sizable sum. The 1988 figure has been calculated as being in excess of R6 billion. By no means everyone knows that these billions were paid in full to increase the differentiated supplements added to the purchase price for agricultural produce.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms were given the right to dispose of the aforementioned funds. They utilized these resources as incentives for the production of meat and milk, while crop farming had to bear the brunt of the aforementioned transition to standard prices.

This anomaly, which prevailed within the agro-industrial complex itself, was largely eliminated through the increase in purchase prices for grain crops, running to a total of R2.6 billion.

In the context of the problems under examination, special attention ought to be given to the prices set for new types of agricultural equipment. The procedure for their elaboration and ratification is laid down in a USSR State Committee for Prices document dated 30 October 1987. I mean the temporary "Methodology for Determining Wholesale Prices for New Machine Building Products for Production and Technical Purposes," which is available to a broad circle of readers and was published in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 51 in 1987.

In line with this document's demands, prices are set with due consideration for the economic benefit resulting from the replacement of obsolete equipment. The new price is determined within the limits of the ceiling price estimated by the client for the producer during the elaboration of the normative-technical documentation. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the magnitude of the economic benefit is verified by the client when operating the new equipment. Contract prices valid for up to 2 years are introduced for this purpose. The client has the right to reduce the price if the economic benefit is not confirmed in practical operating conditions or if it proves to be lower.

Cases arise in practice, however, when clients either do not or cannot demand from the producer that the necessary technical performance be fully sustained in the future. It is well known that kolkhozes and sovkhozes are now buying the "Don-1500" combine harvesters not at R12,500 but at R38,000, but are not obtaining the anticipated benefit from their operation. This is caused not by the high price but by the fact that the machines are not fully finished and are technically unreliable.

For example, these combine harvesters were used in 1987 mainly for grain crop harvesting due to the lack of necessary attachments for gathering other crops. For example, only 434 corn harvesting attachments were delivered instead of 1,000, 459 attachments for harvesting grass and rapeseed plants were delivered instead of 898, and no sunflower harvesting attachments at all were delivered. Virtually no combine harvesters were fitted with straw grinders. The average full operating time for the country as a whole was 11-18 hours.

This of course makes an increase in the cost of work and products inevitable. But this is no cause for raising the general question that this is an incorrectly determined price. In a case like this, actual price paid for a specific machine should evidently be perceived as resulting from the consumer's passiveness and his lack of demandingness concerning the quality and completeness of the equipment being supplied.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes make inadequate use of the economic rights vested in them. After all, suppliers can be made to pay farms fines amounting to 20 percent of the price if the equipment fails to meet the demands stipulated by standards and technical specifications. But farms make virtually no use of this right, even though refusal to take advantage of this provision causes material loss to the economies of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and promotes the impunity of suppliers. Ultimately, there is just one factor that is necessary to maintain price parity between industry and agriculture: Observance of established procedures.

It can thus be said that today we have already managed, better than ever before, to create economic prerequisites for the withering away of the supplier's diktat. The period of contract relations is upon us.

This task becomes especially topical in the course of preparing and implementing radical price reform. Moreover, questions relating to the level of prices for agricultural equipment demand thorough and comprehensive substantiation. It is impossible to treat them in a simplistic fashion, as a simple correlation of industry's wholesale prices and agriculture's purchase prices.

Unfortunately, it has to be said that our contemporary science has yet to produce theoretically convincing conclusions, let alone methodological recommendations based on comprehensive research, relating to price formation along the lines of taking universal variables into account. Economic management practice has to follow the path of trial and error. This is without any doubt a supremely inefficient path. But science has found itself far behind practice in researching the questions of price parity between industry and agriculture.

For example, the attempt to examine this important and complex question made in the article "Price Diktat" (SELSKAYA ZHIZN 6 October 1988) by Academician V. Boyevoy of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and Candidate of Economic Sciences Z. Gerasimova was built exclusively on the basis of criticism of the current practice for pricing industrial products for the countryside, which supposedly leads to disruption of parity in industry's favor.

The authors fail to perceive the new situation developing in the market for means of production for the countryside. As proof for their outdated claims they cite instances of mass breaches of parity in industry's favor in real-life economic practice, apparently caused by an incorrect policy adopted by the USSR State Committee for Prices when laying down the procedure for forming and setting industry's prices, or rather the level of ceiling prices.

The essence of the most basic shortcoming, according to the authors, is the fact that the main consumer—who, as is well known, was the USSR Gosagroprom—was deprived of all powers in the determination of the aforementioned prices. I have already mentioned the new methodological instructions for setting wholesale prices which emphasize the client's role in the setting of ceiling prices and also, we feel, give a precise and complete description of the stance taken by the USSR State Committee for Prices on this matter. Article 2.I.2 of the methodological instructions reads: "Together with the initial requirements, the client will supply the developer of the technical project with a ceiling price calculated on the basis of the basic technical, economic, social, and ecological parameters listed in the order for the development of the new product...."

Of course, it is difficult to consult the methodological instructions published by the Price Lists Publishing House due to the small print run, but the aforementioned issue of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA is available in libraries, and scientists dealing with pricing problems cannot be ignorant of it.

Thus, there are simply no grounds to claim that the USSR Gosagroprom, which represents the interests of the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, is completely or partially excluded from the real practice of pricing industrial products, including agricultural equipment.

The USSR State Committee for Prices, having analyzed the initial practical experience of work by agricultural enterprises in the conditions of the abolition of dual prices for industrial products for the countryside, has concluded that the solution to the problem of maintaining parity between cities and the countryside by means of prices alone, via total rejection of the use of targeted budget finance or sector finance for the development of social and production infrastructure in the agrarian sector, has a negative effect.

The least equipped farms, the ones with low figures for stockraising productivity and crop yields, are largely deprived of the resources needed to develop their infrastructure. This situation prevails on kolkhozes and sovkhozes situated in the Far North, the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Zone, the Far East, the semi-desert regions of Central Asia, and many regions in Russia's Non-Chernozem Zone.

In this context, when new purchase prices are introduced from 1 January 1990 as envisaged by the relevant party and government decisions, it would seem expedient to exclude from the total amount of purchase prices any budget appropriations in excess of R10 billion which were previously utilized to finance capital investments, kindergarten maintenance, losses in housing and municipal services, and other plan measures on economically weak farms and that were paid out in the form of differentiated supplements.

In our view, these funds ought to be utilized to create a centralized republic or union fund to finance targeted programs for rural amenities and infrastructure development, in other words to ensure the purposeful resolution of priority socioeconomic tasks of the countryside's development.

Scientific

'Cosmos 1990' Launched, Working Normally

LD1301094089 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan (TASS)—Cosmos 1990, a routine artificial earth satellite was launched in the USSR on Thursday by a Soyuz carrier rocket. It is intended for the continuation of study of the earth's natural resources in the interests of various branches of the national economy of the USSR and international cooperation. The flight program also envisions photography of seismically active regions of the country, including the territory of Armenia, with the aim of studying seismotectonic conditions in the interests of industrial and civilian construction.

The satellite was put into orbit with the parameters:

—initial period of rotation: 88.7 minutes;
— maximum distance from the surface of the earth: 259 kilometers;
— minimum distance from the surface of the earth: 192 kilometers;
— orbital inclination 82.6 degrees.

The apparatus is working normally.

Military

Army Officer on Regional System of Volunteers

PM1100170200 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 8 Jan 89 p 4

["Letter to the Editor" from Captain Sergey Khrapko, Far-Eastern Military District: "Soldier Is a Profession"]

[Text] I was very excited reading "What Kind of Armed Forces Do We Need?" by Lt.-Col. Savinkin, Cand. Sc. (Philosophy). At long last comes the realization that the reform of the economy and the political system should be followed by a military reform!

While Lt.-Col. Savinkin advocated conscripted army, I'm for the Soviet Armed Forces built on a regional system of volunteer professionals. Here are my reasons.

The Armed Forces depend primarily on the prevailing modes of warfare which change with the development of the means of production.

The Red Army of the times immediately after the 1917 Revolution, the Soviet Army of the cold war period and the Soviet Armed Forces in the epoch of the "common European home" have to be different.

I think an army based on officers, non-commissioned officers and privates volunteering to be professionals either for a life-time or for periods specified in their contracts would be in the interests of our society.

I don't think it is necessary to form ethnic units as was the case in the 1920s - Lettish regiments, Belorussian territorial rifle divisions, a special Yakut rifle company. A better policy would be, to my mind, to set up regional formations. Ethnic problems can't be solved by the contraposition of different nations. This is obvious in the army. When trying to get to the bottom of any conflict involving men of different nationalities, the reasons always appear rather insignificant at first. For example, some take as personal offence some swear words, some think others are too hard on their fellow countrymen, etc.

Talking to a Georgian or a Russian involved in a breach of discipline, I catch myself thinking that this would not have happened if the Georgian or the Russian were born and lived in Georgia and served in the same military unit in Georgia, not thousands of miles from it. Familiarity with the language and customs would have helped the Russian avoid the conflict. And officers of different nationalities living in the Georgian Republic, being graduates from local military schools, would find it much simpler to relate to the men under them.

The approved Soviet budget has a deficit of 36,000 million roubles. Is it affordable today to move recruits and those who finished service in the army between the country's European and Far-Eastern parts twice a year? On which scientific data did they base the contention that "serving far away from home, a soldier would be a better defender of the whole country"? Greater attention to economic aspects should be paid as regards the Armed Forces, not just the economy.

Cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces have been announced. These are unilateral cuts. But cuts in the number of personnel should be compensated for by qualitative changes which should be started immediately.

I can't claim that my ideas and observations constitute a theory of future changes. I'm merely an officer of the political department of a military unit. And a young one at that. So I would like to know what competent scholars, experts and, of course, ranking members of the USSR Defence Ministry think about a military reform.

At any rate, a military reform is not the concern of the USSR Defence Ministry alone. And it is not so much its concern, as that of our entire people.

Captain Sergey Khrapko, Far-Eastern Military District